

THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE
AND
THE PALACE OF THE RULERS
AT TELL ASMAR

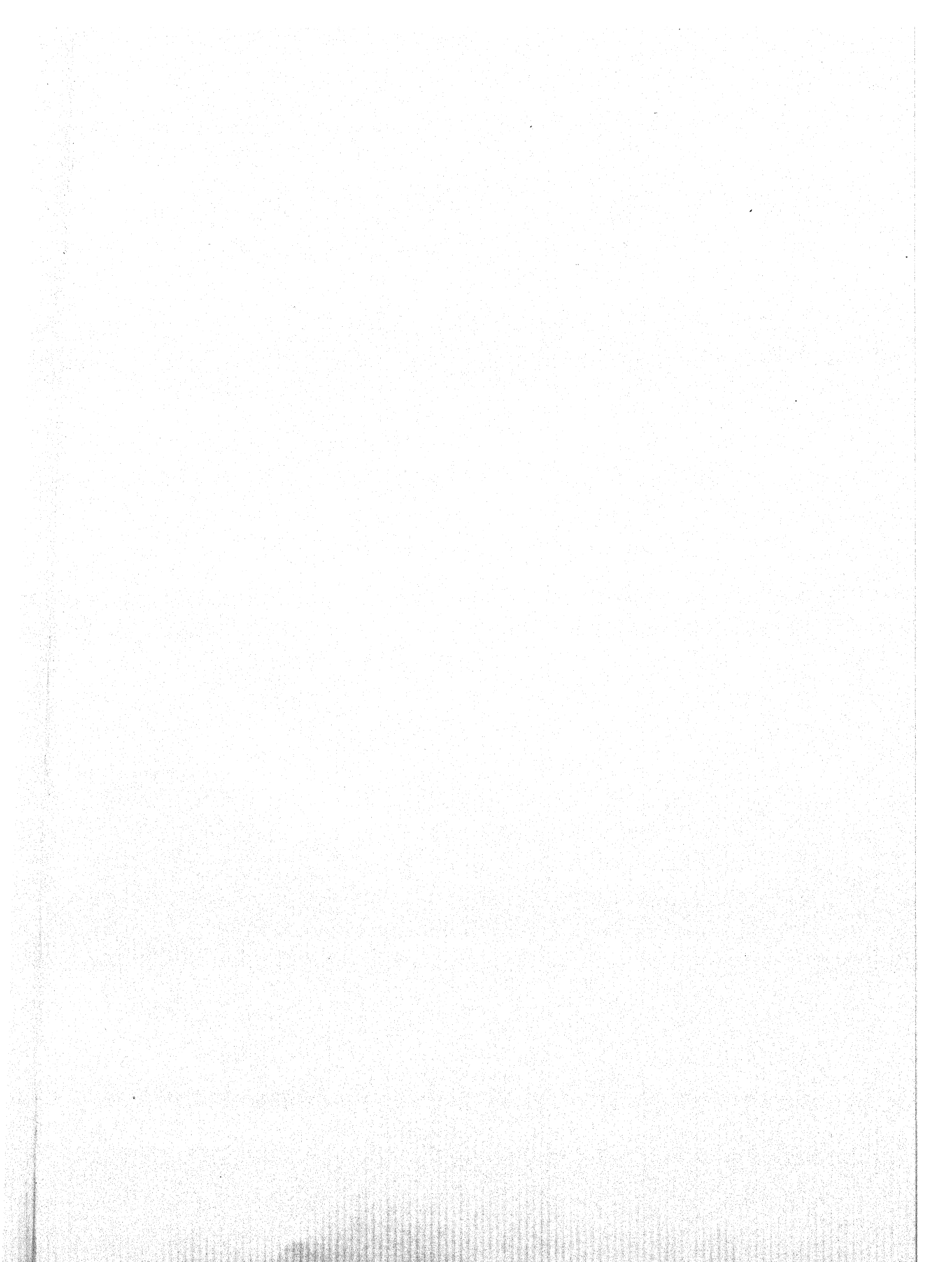
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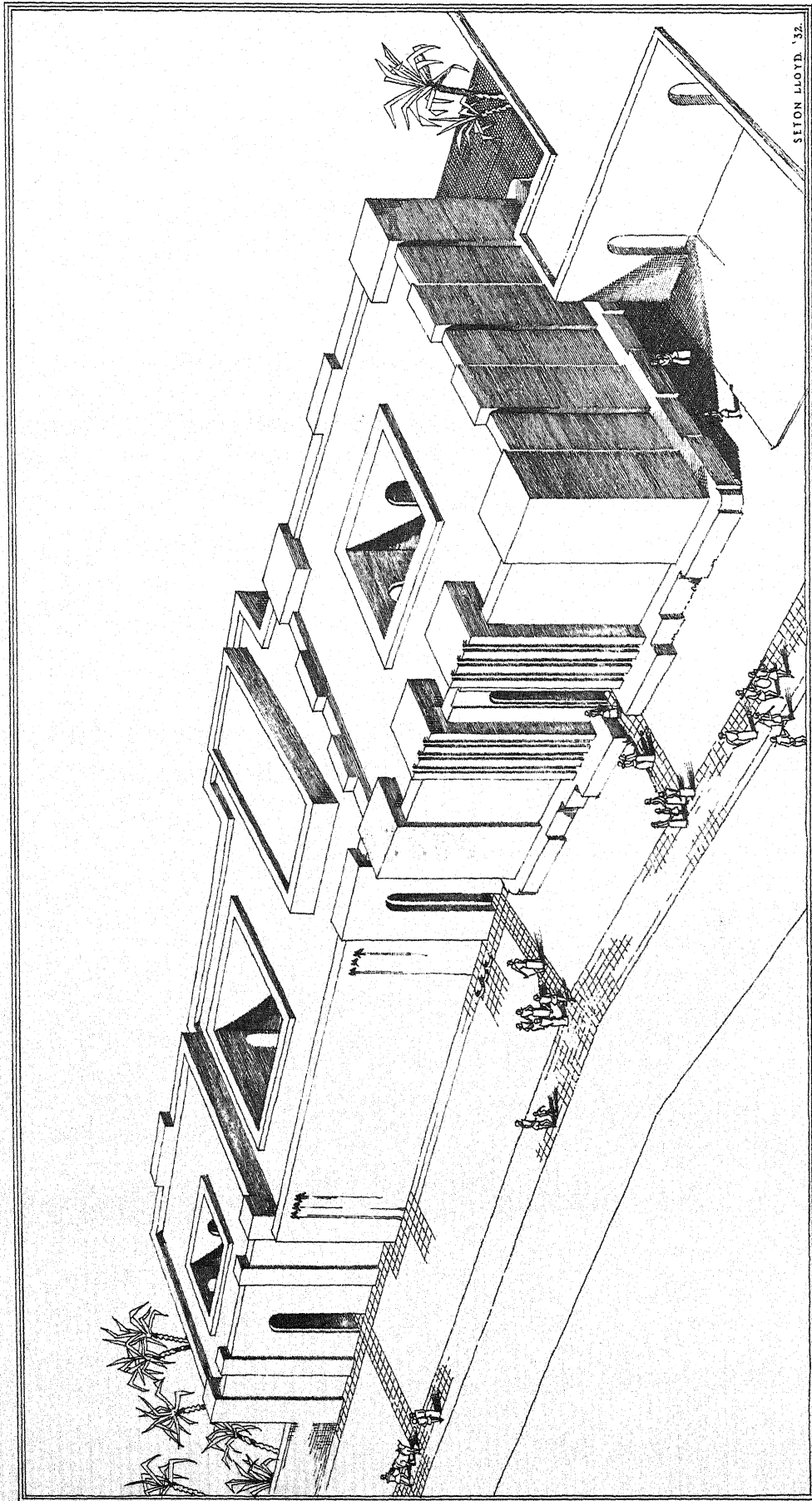
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RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PALACE AND TEMPLE AT ESHNUNNA IN THE TIME OF ILUSHULIA

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THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE
AND
THE PALACE OF THE RULERS
AT TELL ASMAR

By

HENRI FRANKFORT, SETON LLOYD

and

THORKILD JACOBSEN

WITH A CHAPTER BY GÜNTER MARTINY

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This volume is one of a group planned to present as a whole the work of the Oriental Institute's Iraq Expedition in the Diyālā region. The proposed titles are:

Four Ancient Towns in the Diyālā Region
Private Houses and Graves in the Diyālā Region
The Temple Oval at Khafājah (*OIP* LIII)
Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyālā Region
The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (*OIP* XLIII)
Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyālā Region
Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafājah (*OIP* XLIV)
More Sculpture from the Diyālā Region
Cylinder Seals from the Diyālā Region
Pottery from the Diyālā Region
Weights from the Diyālā Region
Miscellaneous Objects from the Diyālā Region

PREFACE

The excavation of the Temple of Gimilsin and the Palace of the Rulers was begun in November, 1930. The staff consisted of the following members: Mr. P. Delougaz, Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen, Mrs. Rigmor Jacobsen, Miss G. Rachel Levy, Mr. Seton Lloyd, and Mr. Gordon Loud.

During the season of 1931/32 this investigation was completed by Mr. Seton Lloyd, assisted by Mr. Hamilton D. Darby. The sprouting of grass after rain in the spring of 1931 had revealed the main outlines of the "Southern Building," and it was excavated in the autumn of that year by Mr. Loud, assisted by Mr. Hugh S. Braun.

In the season of 1933/34 our search for the temple of Tishpak, known as Esikil, brought us to a building adjacent to the palace on the north, which is called by inference the Audience Hall of Naramsin. Its excavation was carried out by Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen, assisted by Mr. Harold D. Hill.

The publication of discoveries made and partly written up some years ago, and consisting of the work of several authors, required a good deal of harmonization by the editorial staff. The authors wish to express their indebtedness to Dr. T. George Allen and his assistant, Miss Ruth C. Wilkins, for the great care which they have expended in an endeavor to present our results in the best possible form.

HENRI FRANKFORT

KHAFĀJAH
December 1936

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>AJSL</i>	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—).
<i>AO</i>	Paris. Musée national du Louvre. Antiquités orientales. (Followed by object number.)
<i>AOF</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1923—).
<i>AS</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Assyriological studies (Chicago, 1931—).
<i>AS No. 1</i>	MEISSNER, BRUNO. Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch (1931).
<i>AS No. 2</i>	POEBEL, ARNO. The Sumerian prefix forms e- and i- in the time of the earlier princes of Lagaš (1931).
<i>AS No. 6</i>	JACOBSEN, THORKILD. Philological notes on Eshnunna and its inscriptions (1934).
<i>AS No. 8</i>	KRAMER, S. N. The Sumerian prefix forms be- and bi- in the time of the earlier princes of Lagaš (1936).
<i>AS No. 11</i>	JACOBSEN, THORKILD. The Sumerian king list (1939).
<i>As.</i>	Tell Asmar. (Followed by field number.)
<i>BM</i>	London. British Museum. (Followed by object number.)
<i>CT</i>	Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum (London, 1896—).
<i>EAH</i>	Tablet collection of E. A. Hoffman, published in Hugo Radau, <i>Early Babylonian history . . .</i> (New York, 1899). (Followed by catalogue number.)
<i>ERV</i>	EBERT, MAX. Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte (Berlin, 1924—).
<i>GSG</i>	POEBEL, ARNO. Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik (Rostock, 1923).
<i>Ish.</i>	Ishchālī. (Followed by field number.)
<i>KAHI</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen inhalts (<i>WVDOG</i> XVI and XXXVII; Leipzig, 1911-22).
<i>KAHI I</i>	<i>WVDOG</i> XVI, by LEOPOLD MESSERSCHMIDT.
<i>KAHI II</i>	<i>WVDOG</i> XXXVII, by OTTO SCHROEDER.
<i>Kh.</i>	Khafājah. (Followed by field number.)
<i>LAR</i>	LUCKENBILL, D. D. Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1926-27).
<i>OIC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
<i>OIC No. 13</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI; JACOBSEN, THORKILD; and PREUSSER, CONRAD. Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The first season's work in Eshnunna, 1930/31 (1932).
<i>OIC No. 16</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933).
<i>OIC No. 17</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1934).
<i>OIC No. 19</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Oriental Institute discoveries in Iraq, 1933/34. Fourth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1935).
<i>OIC No. 20</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Progress of the work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35. Fifth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1936).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>OIP XI</i>	CHIERA, EDWARD. Sumerian lexical texts from the temple school at Nippur (1929).
<i>OIP XXII</i>	OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell (1934).
<i>OIP XXXVIII</i>	LOUD, GORDON. Khorsabad. I. Excavations in the palace and at a city gate (1936).
<i>OIP XL</i>	LOUD, GORDON, and ALTMAN, CHARLES B. Khorsabad. II. The citadel and the town (1938).
<i>OIP XLIV</i>	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Sculpture of the third millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafājah (1939).
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
<i>PSBA</i>	Society of Biblical Archaeology, <i>London</i> . Proceedings (1878/79-1918).
<i>PUBC</i>	Pennsylvania. University. Babylonian Expedition. Series A. Cuneiform texts, ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT (Philadelphia, 1893-1914).
<i>PUMBP</i>	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Babylonian Section. Publications (Philadelphia, 1911—).
<i>PUMJ</i>	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. The Museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910—).
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).

<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, hrsg. von Erich Ebeling und Bruno Meissner (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928—).
<i>SA</i>	Tablet collection of the Pères Blancs de Sainte-Anne, Jerusalem. (Followed by tablet number.)
<i>SAK</i>	THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS. Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (Leipzig, 1907).
<i>Šum. Lex.</i>	DEIMEL, ANTON. Šumerisches Lexikon (Roma, 1930—).
<i>UE II</i>	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations. II. The royal cemetery, by C. L. Woolley (London, 1934).
<i>UET I</i>	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations. Texts. I. Royal inscriptions, by C. J. Gadd and Leon Legrain (London, 1928).
<i>VA</i>	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. (Followed by object number.)
<i>VAS</i>	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Leipzig, 1907—).
<i>VAT</i>	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Thontafelsammlung. (Followed by tablet number.)
<i>WVDOG</i>	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).
<i>YOSB</i>	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian texts (New Haven, 1915—).
<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886—).
<i>ZDMG</i>	Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).

In the transliteration and translation of texts Akkadian words are transliterated in italics, Sumerian words in letter-spaced roman, Sumerian signs of which the reading is uncertain in small roman capitals.

The following symbols are used:

N.	name of an individual	< >	omitted by ancient scribe
F.	name of father	()	explanatory additions by author
^d	determinative for a divine name	!	sign abnormal in form but must be read as transliterated
^m	determinative for a masculine name	....	lost or unreadable signs (extent of gap not indicated)
[]	wholly lost		
[]	partially lost		

I

INTRODUCTION

BY HENRI FRANKFORT

The complex of buildings described in this volume was the first to be excavated at Tell Asmar. We were attracted to this part of the site by the presence of inscribed baked bricks which were lying about on the surface and which appeared in greater quantities, and still in their original position, where a vaulted pit had caved in (see Fig. 59).

Starting work, as we did, in an entirely unexplored region, we were naturally anxious to obtain first of all a few fixed points which would enable us to connect our discoveries with the framework of known Babylonian history. A building with inscribed bricks offered obvious advantages.

The choice of our first objective has indeed proved a sound one. A succession of ten rulers was established during our first season by the sequence of their inscribed bricks alone. About 1,400 tablets and a large number of seal impressions contained additional information of great historical interest. In many cases this material gained its full value only when studied in relation to the stratigraphic evidence. It is, indeed, the intimate co-operation of archeologist and epigrapher throughout the duration of the excavations which we ourselves consider the most distinctive feature of our work and one directly responsible for many of our results. It is therefore logical that we should present in this volume both the textual and the archeological material bearing on the history of Eshnunna during the period represented by the ruins.

As the work proceeded the inscriptional data which could be brought into relation with architectural remains increased rapidly. The chronological framework established at the end of our first season consisted of successive building stages dated by inscribed bricks to the reigns of certain rulers. This same framework applied also to groups of tablets found within the ruins. The circumstances of discovery, such as the common occurrence of groups of tablets inside drains descending for several meters below the level to which they belonged, often required much thought and investigation on the spot; but in most cases the reigns in which the tablets had been deposited could be established. Thus a large number of date formulas, names of officials, and other facts could be assigned to the lifetimes of certain rulers, although the tablets did not themselves contain any indication of their exact chronological position within the Isin-Larsa period.

The facts thus established allowed Dr. Jacobsen to draw other tablets, bought from dealers or found in various trenches cut during the closing stages of our work at Tell Asmar, into the framework of successive reigns which he was elaborating. These tablets often possessed little value in themselves, but they became important because they could be connected with the series of historical events which had been established. When in 1935/36 we began work at Ishchālī, near the Diyālā River, and found there temples built by the rulers of Eshnunna and tablets dated in their reigns, we could connect this material at once with our existing framework of Eshnunnaite chronology. Thus the historical information derived from the tablets taken as a whole far surpasses the scope and actual contents of their texts. The tablets gained a significance which they could never have possessed if treated in the usual way as mere texts without reference to the circumstances of their discovery and to the exact stratigraphy of Tell Asmar.

In the table appended to chapter v Dr. Jacobsen presents a list of twenty-eight rulers of Eshnunna, ending after the conquest of the country by Hammurabi. The sum total of their reigns well exceeds three centuries, and we have evidence in date formulas or other historical material for each reign, so that it has been possible to trace the history of Eshnunna in great detail from the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur down to the last part of Samsuiluna's reign. Assur, Kish, Der, and Babylon are brought into relation with Eshnunna and with one another, and in the end the information thus obtained affects the most fundamental problems of Babylonian history during the Isin-Larsa period.

Dr. Jacobsen has confined himself as much as possible to material relevant to the history of Eshnunna during the period when the palace was in use. He has, of course, utilized all his sources in the first section of chapter v, where our chronological framework is established and correlated with known dates of Babylonian history; but beyond that his discussion has taken the form of an annotated publication of the brick inscriptions, seal legends, and date formulas found in the area of the palace complex. While the tablets bearing the date formulas will be published in due course and in the usual way, their treatment here must be archeological rather than textual. For to have treated these formulas merely as parts of the tablets upon which they occur would have meant disregarding completely a most valuable source of information—a source, moreover, which is inaccessible to all who did not share in the Expedition's work and who cannot, therefore, be familiar with the stratigraphic problems involved in the dating of each text.

The foregoing will account in part for the unusual composition of this volume. It may be well, however, to provide the reader with a synopsis of our main results, so that the detailed discussions of architecture, orientation, texts, and objects may be easier to follow.

We have traced to their foundations the ruins of the buildings to be described in chapter ii, and in doing so we have found that the unified structure of the later strata rests upon an earlier complex consisting of three distinct elements.

The oldest part of this complex is formed by a square temple near the eastern limit of our excavations (frontispiece and Pl. I). It was built by Ituria, ruler of Eshnunna, and dedicated to the worship of his overlord, the divine Gimilsin,¹ king of Ur. This building is unique among the temples thus far recovered in Mesopotamia in that the god worshiped in it was a ruler actually living at the time of its construction. The divine nature of the kings of Ur was thus used as a political instrument by which the dependence of vassal states could be made manifest. The state temple of Eshnunna was a monument to the suzerainty of Ur. On state occasions the ruler of Eshnunna worshiped his overlord and god, the procession moving from the palace through a door in the southwestern wall of the temple to the temple court.

The "palace," built shortly after the Temple of Gimilsin and adjoining it, forms the second element in the original complex of buildings. The designation "palace" is to be interpreted in the sense which attaches even now in the Near East to its equivalent, "serai." It is the seat of government, in which the ruler may occasionally reside but which is not primarily his residence. Except in the case of Bilalama, who enlarged the private suite and made it more difficult of access than it had been under his predecessors (cf. Pls. I and IV), there can be no doubt that another purely residential palace must have existed elsewhere. In our building, however, the business of government was probably carried on. We suppose that the ruler gave audiences in the rooms labeled "private suite," which could also serve as robing-chambers on those occasions when he had to preside at state functions in the "Throneroom." The absence of a niche in the Throneroom may be accounted for, at least in the earlier palace, by the fact that Ituria, and perhaps Ilushuilia, were vassals of the kings of Ur, while Kirikiri and Bilalama may have acknowledged the king of Elam as overlord.² As vassals they would probably not

¹ [On the reading of this name see bldg. inscr. No. 1, n. *.—Ed.]

² See *OIC* No. 13, p. 30.

be entitled to the worship ordinarily accorded to independent rulers; and a niche, which in a temple marks the place of the god's statue, in a palace may well have been the exclusive prerogative of such kings as those of Ur, who ruled independent of all power but that of their own god.

Except on those rare occasions when the Throneroom was used for state ceremonies, government business probably was transacted by the *ishakku*'s functionaries in the offices round the "Great Hall." The texts found in these rooms seem on the whole to confirm this view, for they comprise business documents, in which the ruler is comparatively often one of the contracting parties, and letters to and from the ruler. The presence of these documents is best explained on the assumption that the government offices were located here.

Entering the palace from the street, through a doorway in the southeastern wall near where it abuts on the Gimilsin Temple, one passed through four rooms, no doubt strongly guarded, before reaching the palace courtyard (Pl. II). A pathway paved with baked bricks led to the right diagonally across the court to the Throneroom and the government offices. This main thoroughfare from the street was significantly removed as far as possible from the private suite at the opposite corner of the court, where we assume that the ruler granted audiences or perhaps occasionally passed the night. A place of ablution in the entrance lobby of this suite was no doubt intended for the use of visitors and petitioners. A staircase near by led up to the roof, which may have served for holding audiences in the hot weather or as a lookout post for a special guard when the ruler was in residence.

In the last anteroom of the series separating the palace entrance from the central court there was another ablution pavement. It was set athwart the doorway which led into the third unit of the original complex, a small temple so closely related structurally to the central building that we have designated it as the "palace chapel." It is a self-contained unit, however, with a main entrance from the street. A bathroom and a privy in the northwest corner suggest that a group of rooms served as dwelling-place for the priests. Since no inscriptions were found in this chapel the god worshiped there remains unidentified. It was most likely Tishpak, whose "servants" the rulers of Eshnunna professed to be throughout subsequent centuries.

A much later addition to the complex of buildings described in this volume was erected to the northeast of the Temple of Gimilsin (Pl. XII). This building, tentatively called the "Audience Hall" of Naramsin, illustrates another aspect of divine kingship in Mesopotamia. The Audience Hall was built when Eshnunna was no longer dependent on Ur but was ruled for a short time by princes who had themselves assumed divine prerogatives. In all probability this building reveals the architectural setting of such a king's public appearances. Since no texts equivalent to the inscribed door sockets of the Temple of Gimilsin were found here, any interpretation must remain a matter of surmise; but the use implied by the name which we have given it seems highly probable. The differences between this building and the usual temples are most suggestive, and no similar evidence has been found elsewhere. The Audience Hall is described in chapter iv. It seems to have been built above walls of subsidiary structures and, as stated above, belonged to a time much later than that when the Temple of Gimilsin was the state temple.

Both palace chapel and state temple of the early complex eventually lost their sacred character and became parts of the palace proper. This development is intimately related to the history of Eshnunna as revealed by inscriptions, and it is to this part of our prefatory synopsis that we now turn.³

When Ituria built the temple to Gimilsin, Eshnunna had already owed allegiance to Ur for at least 37 years, that is from the 30th year of Shulgi. But after the 2d year of Ibisin local

³ A more detailed historical summary appears on pp. 193-200.

year names and names of the months were introduced, while before that those used at Ur had served at Eshnunna also. Moreover, each local ruler now styled himself "servant of the god Tishpak" instead of "servant of the king of Ur." It appears certain, therefore, that even before the fall of Ibisin, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Eshnunna, though perhaps not formally declaring its independence, had in fact obtained it.

The history of Eshnunna at all times oscillated between two poles: one was the dominant power of Babylonia, the other the power of the mountain people to the north and east of the Tigris River. Even in the earliest buildings of our complex both influences made themselves felt. Dr. Martiny has shown in chapter iii that the palace chapel was oriented according to Assyrian (i.e., northern) tradition, but at the same time shared a southern type of plan with the state temple built to Gimilsin and oriented in the direction of Ur, the residence of its god. This use of a Babylonian temple plan, with a broad cella having the cult niche on a line with the main entrance to the building, is the more remarkable since the Early Dynastic temples at Tell Asmar, at Khafājah, and at Tell 'Aqrah resemble the archaic Ishtar Temple at Assur and the temples of Nuzi, where the main axis of the cella lies at right angles to that of the entrance.⁴

Another feature showing cultural affinity between the civilization of Eshnunna and that of the mountaineers to the north and east of it, even during the suzerainty of the Third Dynasty of Ur, is the fact that its god Tishpak was none other than the Hurrian Teshub, who had displaced Ninazu at least as early as Sargon of Akkad's reign.⁵ Furthermore, laws in force at Eshnunna⁶ and some of the glyptic found there⁷ link up with Assur and Elam instead of with Sumer. Three-quarters of the names of the people are Akkadian.

Nurahum, the successor of Ilushuilia, had to combat the northern mountaineers of Subartu. Although Nurahum kept most of the Gimilsin Temple in good repair, he seems to have secularized it, and he deliberately put the palace chapel out of commission (Pl. II). In the time of his successor, Kirikiri, the mountaineers became dominant. This ruler is known to us only from a seal which he gave to his son (As. 30:1000; seal legend No. 12);⁸ but his (probably) Elamite name suggests that he was among those who, in alliance with the Amorites of Ishbiirra, vanquished Ibisin and that he reserved the region east of the Diyālā River as his share of the spoils. This supposition is shown to be chronologically possible by the discovery of an impression of a seal of Ishbiirra's son Shuilishu (seal legend No. 25) in the palace of Kirikiri's son Bilalama.

Bilalama built a temple to Tishpak (date formula No. 62), entirely rebuilt the palace (Pls. III and IV), and gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Susa.⁹ Though the Amorites had been allied with Bilalama's Elamite(?) father in the war against Ibisin of Ur, Bilalama nevertheless had to fight against them. But he seems in the end to have made a working arrangement according to which he assisted the Amorites in conquering neighboring cities, which were then incorporated into his own kingdom after the Amorites had looted them (date formulas Nos. 64-70). This would explain how Amorite victories could supply date formulas for Eshnunna under Bilalama.

Under Bilalama's successor, Isharramashu, the palace fell victim to a conflagration. We are inclined to connect this catastrophe with the temporary eclipse suffered by Susa under the reign of Bilalama's son-in-law, Tanruhuratir. The Sumerian South, under the leadership of Anumutabil, king of Der, had reacted against the dominion of the mountaineers. Bilalama was criticized by one of his correspondents for treating Anumutabil too deferentially (As. 31: T. 295). However, Anumutabil in his own inscriptions claimed a victory over Elam, with

⁴ *OIC* No. 17, pp. 40-42; *OIC* No. 19, p. 7.

⁷ *OIC* No. 16, p. 46.

⁵ *OIC* No. 13, pp. 51-54.

⁸ See also *OIC* No. 13, pp. 42-44.

⁶ See *AS* No. 6, pp. 29 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 27.

which Eshnunna was so closely associated in Bilalama's time. Hence it seems significant that the palace of the rulers of Eshnunna was burned down under Isharramashu, while the next ruler, Ušurawasu, is believed to have first come to Eshnunna as an ambassador of Anumutabil of Der.¹⁰

A new period of prosperity coincides with the emergence of rulers with Sumerian names, Urninmar and Urningishzida, who were probably brothers. Urninmar began by repairing the makeshift palace which his inglorious predecessors had erected on the burnt ruins of Bilalama's structure (Pl. V),¹¹ but afterward he rebuilt the whole palace on an improved plan. His son Ibiqadad I rebuilt and extended this new palace (Pl. V). When Ibiqadad's son Abdierah suffered defeat at the hands of a king of Kish, Eshnunna was thrown into a state of complete anarchy. The three ancient towns which we have been excavating at Tell Asmar, Khafājah, and Ishchālī remained disunited until Belakum restored the unity of the country east of the Diyālā. It is uncertain to which ruler a rebuilding of the palace during this period¹² should be assigned, since the bricks are uninscribed. Ibalpiel I rebuilt the palace again.

Ibalpiel¹³ I was succeeded by his son Ibiqadad II, the "enlarger of Eshnunna" as he styled himself, giving that epithet precedence over the customary religious formulas. Under him the country entered upon a short career of influence and power far exceeding that which it had possessed in former times. Ibiqadad II conquered Rapiku, a city which dominated the passage over the middle Euphrates and thereby also the trade with Anatolia and access to the North Syrian plains, where the nomadic kinsmen and potential allies of the Amorite dynasty of Babylon were at home. Ibiqadad II assumed the title of king and was deified in his lifetime.

The ambitions of the rulers of Eshnunna at this period are clearly indicated by the name of Ibiqadad's son and successor, Naramsin. For the heir of a territory situated in the heart of the old kingdom of Akkad, the use of the name of the greatest Babylonian ruler of pre-Gutium days must have been programmatic. It shows to what extent these princes felt themselves capable of achievement. It also proves that at this time, just before the reign of Hammurabi, neither Babylon nor Isin nor Larsa could have possessed a predominating position in Babylonia, since in that case the rulers of Eshnunna could not have aimed at playing the role which they evidently had reserved for themselves. It seems, however, that none of the successors of Ibiqadad II equaled that ruler in power; and it was Babylon, not Eshnunna, which finally emerged predominant from the general struggle in which all the Mesopotamian princedoms had been engaged since the fall of Ibisin of Ur. Our texts, studied by Dr. Jacobsen and utilized by him for a detailed reconstruction of the history of the Diyālā region during this period, reveal a state of continuous unrest. It even seems inappropriate to think of Mesopotamia as clearly divided among a number of rival principalities, since there were no frontiers possessing stability. We notice, rather, spheres of influence which ceaselessly expand or contract. Two or three entirely different political constellations succeed one another, sometimes within a single generation. An account of these intrigues and petty wars would lack all interest were it not that the great names of Assur and Babylon appear and hold our attention. As it is, the records of Eshnunna supply an invaluable background to the great achievement of Hammurabi, who converted these conditions into the peaceful prosperity of a unified realm.

On our site the latest remains date from Ibiqadad II and his son Naramsin. Ibiqadad II built the Southern Building and laid massive foundations across the ancient palace, destroying

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 32 f.

¹¹ Sometimes called for convenience the "Palace of Three Rulers"; see pp. 63 and 118 f.

¹² Sometimes called "Palace of the Anonymous Builder."

¹³ Spelled "Ibalpel" in our earlier publications; cf. p. 137 below.

nuch of the building of his predecessors (Pl. VII). To what extent his structures were completed remains uncertain, for denudation has played havoc with the uppermost layers of the mound for the well-nigh four thousand years since the conquest of Eshnunna by Hammurabi. This was in the 31st year of Hammurabi's reign, perhaps 50 years after the accession of Ibiq-dad II. Denudation has destroyed the walls of Naramsin's Audience Hall also, leaving the floor of the structure almost even with the modern surface of the tell. What we know of the last phase of the independent existence of Eshnunna is therefore derived exclusively from texts. However, the architectural history of our buildings, covering the period prior to that affected by denudation, reflects with remarkable clearness the vicissitudes of the country during those three eventful centuries.

II

THE MAIN COMPLEX

BY SETON LLOYD

March, 1932, brought to a conclusion the work of two seasons in the center of Tell Asmar—work which had begun with the investigation of the Urningishzida pit (O 29:1; see pp. 69 f.) in November, 1930. The conclusion was a satisfactory one, as we had found it possible not only to recover the plans and original layout of a group of public buildings almost entirely detached, complete in themselves and together forming an interesting unit, but also to trace in the tangle of walls between the lowest foundation and the present surface of the tell the variously amended plans of a long series of rebuildings by successive generations of kings.¹ Of these rebuildings it now seems worth while to publish in detail six only, since two intermediate ones depart very little from those preceding them. These six reconstructions form an important document for the history of the period.

The presentation of plans of these rebuildings in a comprehensible form without preventing the possibility of studying their interrelation was something of a problem. To superimpose as many as six plans, when they are as widely divergent as are the earliest and latest versions of this complex, would be prohibitively complicated, even supposing that different colors or crosshatchings were employed. The system here used, therefore, is as follows. The earliest layout of the complete group of buildings is first shown in the form of a plan (Pl. I) that has been slightly restored where the original disposition of walls and doorways, though no longer recoverable, can nevertheless be guessed at with a reasonable amount of confidence. The plan is slightly projected downward in geometric perspective in order that a little extra realism may be given to the shapes of rooms, pavements, etc.; those parts of the buildings whose function or nature is now more than a matter of conjecture are labeled accordingly. Next, the same plan is reproduced in black (Pl. II) in the form of a precise record of the walls and other structures attributed to the earliest period in the exact state in which they were found, dotted lines being used where obvious reconstructions can be made. Over this is superimposed a similar plan in red, recording in the same way such traces as were found of alterations and additions made by Nurahum, the next ruler in succession, and representing walls and pavements as they were found. After this we present a combination (Pl. III) of the second plan (in red) with a third (in black). In the third plan the whole layout has changed to a considerable extent. This plan is again represented in a reconstructed form (Pl. IV), made clearer by a geometric projection. Similarly, Plate VI gives a reconstruction in geometric projection of the latest plan shown on Plate V. In this way the succession of plans records as far as possible every single feature precisely as it was found and at the same time offers reconstructed versions of three rebuildings. The interrelation of the whole is simplified by a series of three sections through the excavation (Pl. VIII). In addition, a composite plan (Pl. XII) shows the relationship of the buildings in the main complex to other buildings in the area, although the plans of the various units are not all from the same level.

There is evidence in a number of places to show that the buildings composing the first plan

¹ Preliminary reports have appeared in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 1-59, and *OIC* No. 16, pp. 1-33. A brief report, published before either of these, appeared in *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1, 1932, pp. 502-5 and 510.

are the earliest structures of their respective types upon this site. In the season of 1930/31 we penetrated in the central court of the palace, M 31:1 (Fig. 1), as deep as the walls and pavements that are now associated with Ilushuilia and that are accordingly shown in the earliest

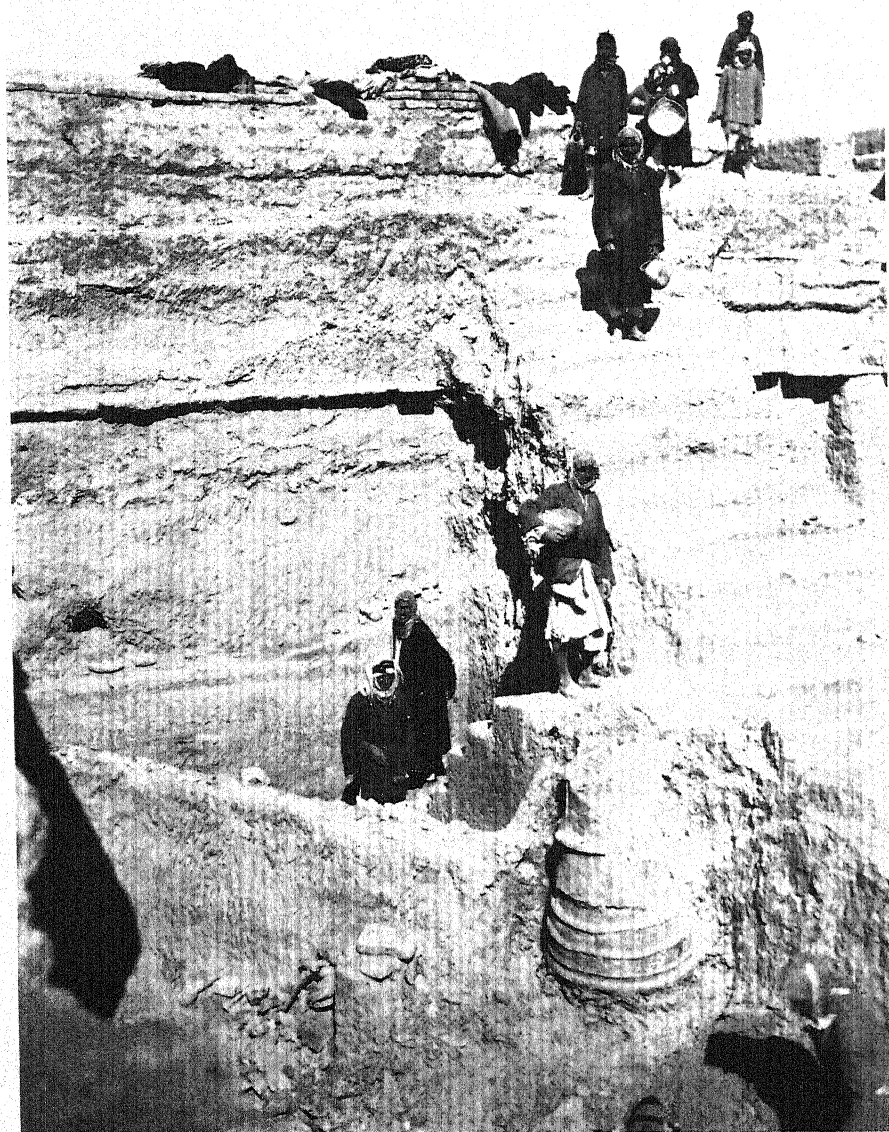


FIG. 1.—CENTRAL COURT OF THE PALACE, SHOWING STAIRS CUT IN THE DEBRIS FOR CONVENIENCE IN EXCAVATING; SEEN FROM SOUTH

plan (Pl. II). We tentatively descended beneath this level about 1.5 meters and found no further evidence of a regular pavement; but near the center of the court we came upon the remains of a largish though extremely rudimentary kiln filled with ashes and other burnt material (Fig. 2). At the level of the kiln, having tunneled north and south beneath the Ilu-

shuilia walls for about 2 meters and having encountered nothing but unmistakable debris, we decided that we had undoubtedly penetrated beneath the earliest of our series of palace buildings. The mouth of the tunnel beneath the southerly wall appears near the center of Figure 3.

The kiln mentioned above is not only built on a much more elementary principle than the two discovered later in O 30:18 (cf. Pls. X and XI), which date from about the time of Bilalama, but its actual construction also is inferior. However, warped vessels ("wasters") found in the vicinity left no doubt as to the purpose of the structure. From the remains which we unearthed the kiln appears to have consisted of a circular fire chamber, covered by a slightly domed plaster platform upon which the pots stood. In constructing the platform a temporary support from beneath must have been used. The platform was pierced with holes at irregular intervals to allow the heat to percolate upward from the fire beneath. These "flues" could, if necessary, be stopped with roughly spherical lumps of burnt clay, a number of which were found in position. No trace was found of any device for creating a draft in the fire. In regard to the superstructure, one can only suppose that it consisted of a rough dome.

Beneath the foundations of the Gimilsin Temple investigations were made in three places. In the central court (O 30:17) small earthenware ovens were found directly beneath the pavement in the northeast corner. In the cella (O 30:18) a considerable layer of ashes (attributed by us to a sacrificial ceremony performed when the site was consecrated before building) appeared just beneath the level at which the pivot stones were laid. In P 31:1 we descended about 1 meter beneath the Ituria pavement and found that at that level one could tunnel beneath the temple walls without encountering brickwork. Finally, at this same level just outside the walls of the temple, in P 31:3 and O 30:20, we discovered small walls at a completely different angle from those of the temple and disappearing beneath the building.

In the following pages we discuss in detail the buildings in this main complex, beginning with the earliest level of the Gimilsin Temple.

THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE

The easternmost unit of the main building complex under consideration was, as proved by the fine pair of inscribed pivot stones found in its cella (one shown in Fig. 15; cf. p. 16), a temple consecrated "to the divine Gimilsin . . . , king of Ur," by "Ituria, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, his servant" (bldg. inscr. No. 1). This building is about 28 meters square, and its walls in most cases are over 3 meters thick. These walls, with the exception of those destroyed by fire in the northwest corner of the building, were re-used in later rebuildings and remained standing

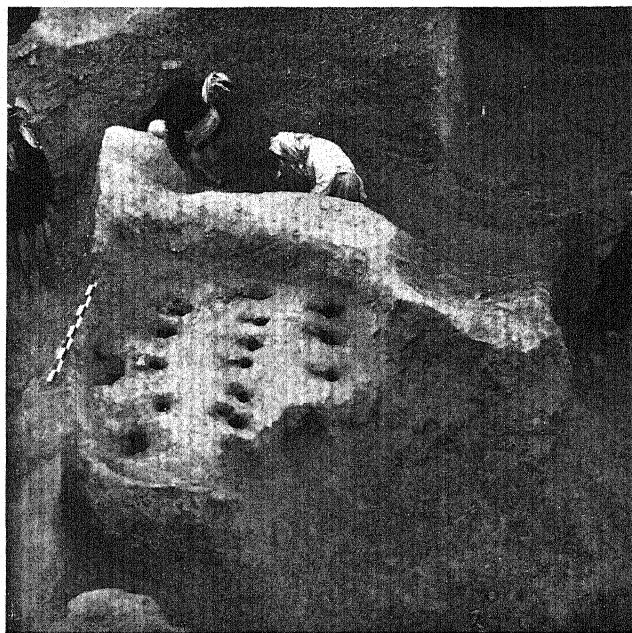


FIG. 2.—KILN BELOW THE ILUSHULIA LEVEL IN THE CENTRAL COURT OF THE PALACE, SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

almost to the surface of the tell.² Since the level at which the cella pivot stones were laid corresponds exactly to the 30-meter datum used in our survey, it will be seen (Pl. VIII, section *BB*) that these walls remain standing in most places to a height of 4 meters. Standing on the



FIG. 3.—CENTRAL COURT OF THE PALACE, SHOWING AN EXPLORATORY TUNNEL BENEATH THE SOUTHERLY WALL OF THE ILUSHULIA LEVEL; SEEN FROM NORTH

modern ground level and looking down the main axis of the building through the entrance vestibule, courtyard, and cella doorways to the niche in which the cult statue must have stood, one gets the impression that the building has scarcely more than had its roof removed. In fact, in the doorway in the northeast corner of the central court (O 30:17), even the plaster facing

² The remains of the buildings shown on Pls. V and VI were all near the surface; cf. also Pl. VIII.

of the doorjambs (of which one may be seen in Fig. 8) remained intact to a height of a little less than 4 meters. This suggests that if these doorways were spanned with arches, as was almost certainly the case, the arch here cannot have had its springing at a height of less than 4

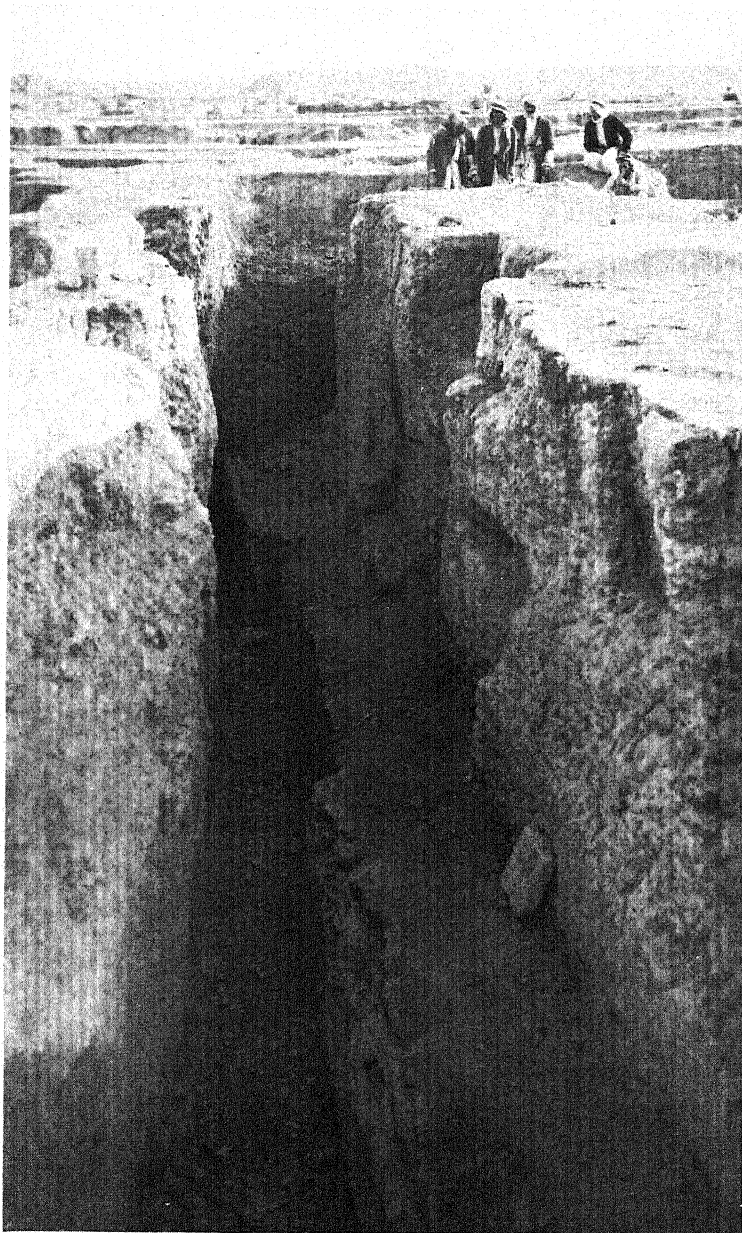


FIG. 4.—EASTERLY WALL OF THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE, SHOWING *Kišū*; SEEN FROM NORTH

meters. Allowing for the height of the arch and a certain clearance between its crown and the ceiling of the room, we thus obtain a minimum height for our building of about 6 meters. Only a little was added to this to arrive at the conjectural height shown in the reconstruction (frontispiece; cf. Pl. IX A).

The outer wall faces of the building are broken up into alternating shallow recesses and “buttresses” in the manner of most Babylonian and Assyrian public buildings. There are four

such "buttresses" on the easterly and westerly walls respectively and three on the northerly wall, the central one of the latter coming directly behind the niche in the sanctuary. The southerly side has two corner buttresses, in addition to which there are two ornamented towers flanking the main entrance.



FIG. 5.—SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE *Kisū*, SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

These motives are repeated exactly on the outer face of a low retaining wall or terrace (the *kisū*)³ which runs round the base of the outer walls on the northerly, easterly (Fig. 4), and southerly sides. On the west side it stops short against the southeast outer wall of the adjoining building, which here butts against the temple, the brick courses of the *kisū* being significantly bonded in with the walls of the palace. This circumstance and the facts that the *kisū* termi-

³ [See Robert Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon* (4. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1925) pp. 61 etc. (cf. "Register" s.v. *Kisu*).—H. F.]

nates abruptly on a line with the northwest corner of the temple and that the outer wall faces are everywhere traceable behind it suggest that the retaining wall was a later addition to the original building, probably constructed at the same time as the adjoining palace and by the same builder. Except near the entrance, the *kisū* was everywhere 1 meter wide and probably a little over a meter high, though the original ground level at its foot is in some places difficult to determine. At the northeast corner it was rounded. At the southeast corner it had a geometrical shape with a slightly recessed curve (Fig. 5), and this form seems likely to have been re-

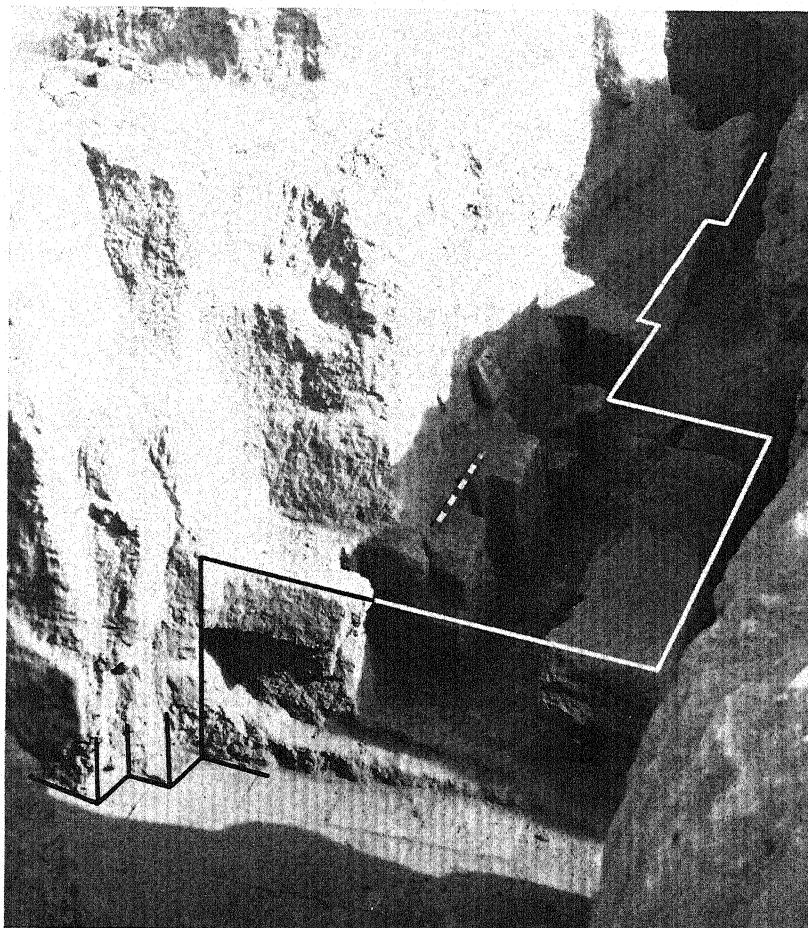


FIG. 6.—ENTRANCE TO THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE, SHOWING, IN OUTLINE, A REBATED DOORJAMB AND THE OUTER EDGE OF THE SOUTHERLY *Kisū*; SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

peated at the southwest corner, though there it could not be traced owing to the damaged condition of the *kisū*.

In front of the towers on either side of the main entrance the *kisū* extended in the same proportion in which the towers projected from the wall (see Pl. I). Connection of the outer surface of this extended *kisū* or platform with the *kisū* supporting the main wall on either side was established by an intermediate projection flush with the "buttress" at the corner of the wall and about half its width. The floor between the tower platforms and in the entrance doorway was paved with large uninscribed baked bricks (seen at the bottom of Fig. 6) similar to those used in the northerly doorway of the vestibule and in the central court. It was only from the impressions left in the bitumen which had covered the bricks that we were able to determine the exact

size and position of the double rebates to the doorjambs, which were very much damaged. The rebates are outlined in the lower left-hand corner of Figure 6. Tracing the front face of the westerly tower, we at once found indications of the "slotted" decoration (Fig. 7) known from similar towers of other Babylonian buildings. It was not, however, until we came to cut through the eastern platform (Fig. 6) that we were able to trace the exact shape of the triply recessed or "slotted" tower wall behind the *kisū*. The fact that the "slots" in the wall extended down to the foundation of the *kisū* again suggests that the latter was a secondary addition. It should be added that against the foot of the *kisū* on the south side of the building and against the foot of the westerly wall, where there was no *kisū*, we found a layer of ashes and burnt rubbish.

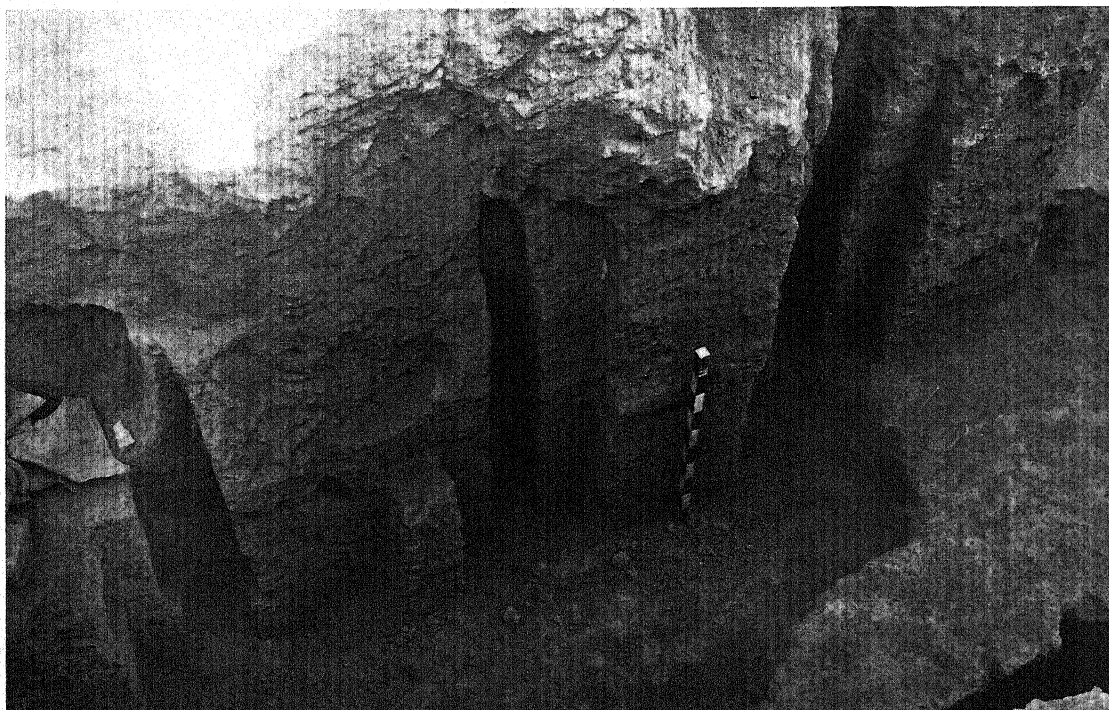


FIG. 7.—WESTERLY TOWER AT ENTRANCE OF TEMPLE, SHOWING "SLOTTED" ORNAMENTATION; SEEN FROM SOUTH-WEST

Except for the adjoining palace, the temple seems to have been quite detached; the only other brickwork encountered while following its outer faces was a fragment of a thin buttressed wall⁴ which ran parallel to the easterly retaining wall at a distance of about 1 meter from it.

The plan of the interior of the temple is an extremely simple and logical one, consisting of rooms grouped round an open court (Fig. 8). Its arrangement corresponds to that of known Babylonian temples of a later period in that the main entrance and the cella doorway are on the same axis, thus forming, when all the doors were open, a vista terminated by the cult niche (see Fig. 56, where the niche is partly obscured by a later kiln).

To the west of the court lay a single room (O 30:12), from which the adjoining palace was accessible through a narrow opening in the outer wall. A wide doorway upon the cross axis of the temple led from this room to the central court, and it is likely that ceremonial processions from the palace would debouch through this doorway. Figure 9 shows where the two faces of

⁴ This fragmentary wall is not shown in the plans.

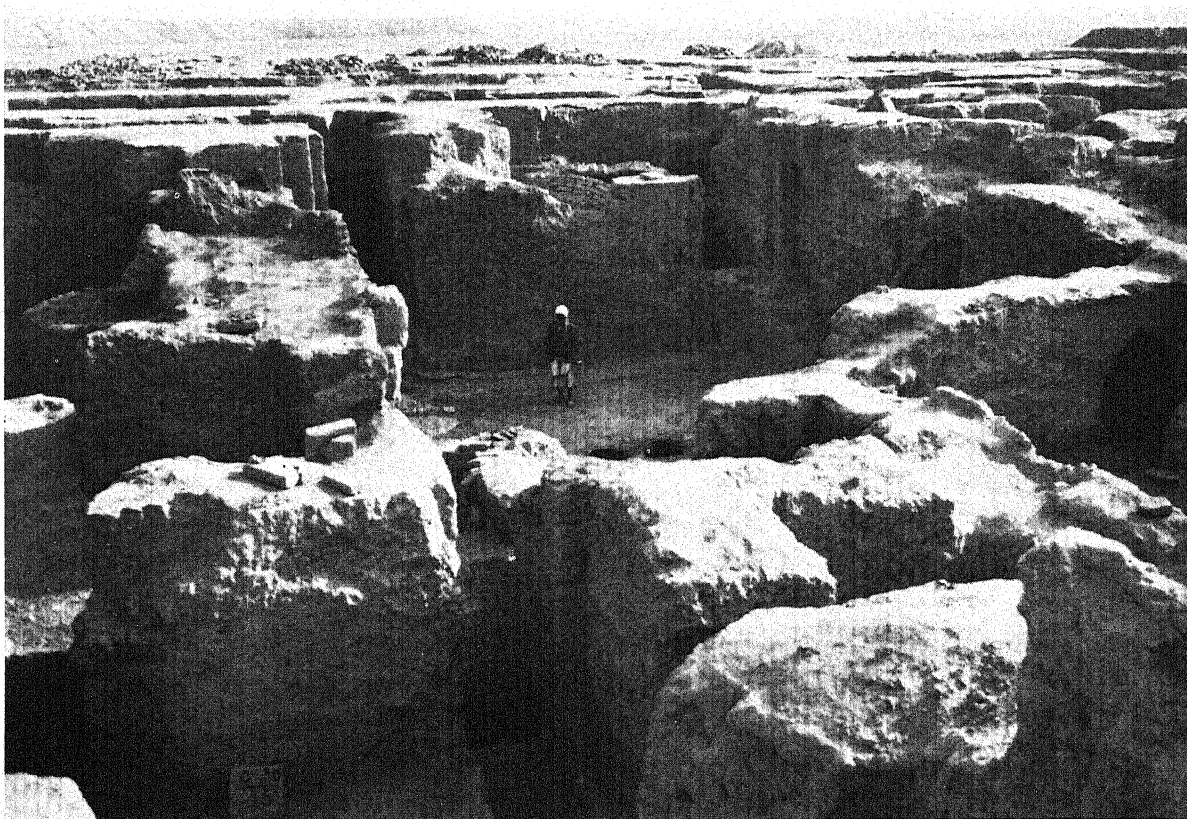


FIG. 8.—CENTRAL COURT OF THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE, SHOWING EASTERLY WALL WITH DOORWAYS; SEEN FROM WEST



FIG. 9.—WESTERLY WALL OF TEMPLE COURT, SHOWING CENTRAL DOORWAY TRACED BY TUNNELS; SEEN FROM EAST

this doorway have been traced by tunnels in the westerly wall of the central court. To the south of room O 30:12 was a smaller one, O 31:2. We believe this room was used for ceremonial ablutions by worshipers entering from the palace, because at a later level the easterly end was paved somewhat irregularly with uninscribed bricks, and beneath the pavement was a drain (see p. 52).

In describing the other rooms in the temple it seems well to give precedence to the cella (O 30:18), since this room and the "sacristy" (O 30:8) to the west gave the first and most definite indication of the successive occupations (cf. pp. 48 f. and Fig. 38). The "sacristy" was probably for the exclusive use of the priests, or it may have been a storeroom for objects connected with the ritual.

The cella was well preserved. In Figures 10 and 11, taken after the excavation was completed, we have tried to give an impression of its original appearance by refilling the floor to the mouth of the drain and re-laying the brick pavement in the entrance.

Tracing the walls of the cella offered little difficulty; for not only were they covered with an immense thickness of plaster owing probably to their having been repeatedly re-dressed at different times, but the plaster had also been blackened and hardened by a fire. The only obstacles encountered were a vertical pottery drain in the northeast corner, descending from a higher level (see p. 52), and two kilns, also of a later date (see Pl. III and pp. 50 ff.). The drain was well packed on the outside with sherds, and when it was removed the packing yielded numerous fragments of clay figurines and miniature chariots. One of the kilns was actually built into the niche (see Fig. 18). Leaving both kilns temporarily in position, we continued to excavate the remainder of the room.

After passing through a layer of burnt debris we came upon a fairly even trodden earth floor, burnt black and covered with fine ashes. This floor is marked *a* in Figure 12 (cf. also Figs. 17 and 19). In the southwest corner of the sacristy (O 30:8) were found a few burnt bricks which apparently belonged to a pavement at a corresponding level. This was evidently the floor level belonging to a definite occupation, since the platform (*parakku*) in the niche and the step leading up to it were similarly burned. It was clear that during this occupation a considerable fire had occurred.

In the main doorway of the cella was a brick structure (seen in Fig. 13 between the measuring stick and the man) which indicated that the sanctuary had been intentionally blocked off. This must have been done at a period after the fire (cf. p. 48), as blackened plaster is traceable behind it, and the foundation of the blocking was laid upon the doorsill of the original structure. Just north of the jambs of this doorway were two holes (one seen in Fig. 14) evidently meant to take the door pivots, and it was beneath these that the inscribed pivot stones (Fig. 15) were subsequently found. Adjoining the western hole (Figs. 14-16) a quantity of charred wood was found which may have formed a part of the door itself.

Directly beneath the trodden earth floor (*a* in Figs. 12 and 17), but obviously laid and used at the same period, were curious drains (Figs. 12, 17, and 18) that had evidently been utilized in connection with the cult. In front of the niche, nearly in the center, was a pottery drain head about 70 cm. in diameter. It was in the form of an inverted basin, having an open mouth where its base should be and four rows of small perforations down the sides; its top edge must have been level with the floor. At 30 cm. from the edge of the drain head was the mouth of a small red earthenware drainpipe descending at an angle of about 20 degrees (Figs. 11 and 17). This was incased in a pipe of whitish clay, square in section, and ended in a jar of a well known type but found completely broken. This double drainage system is described by Dr. Frankfort

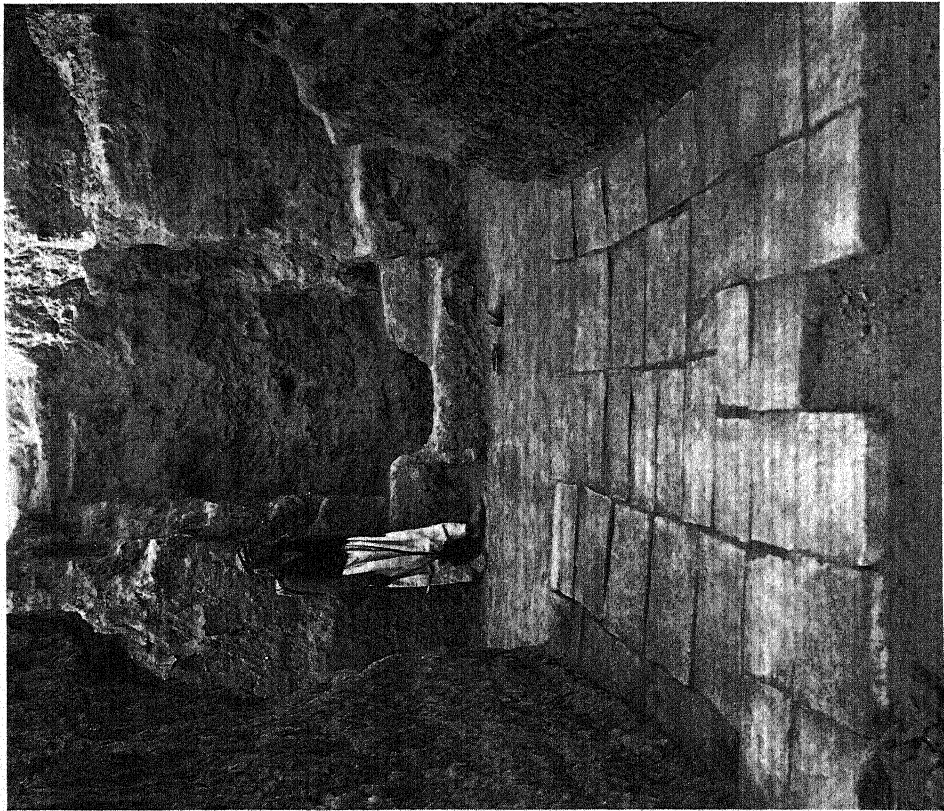


FIG. 10.—CELLA OF GIMILSIN TEMPLE, AS SEEN THROUGH ENTRANCE DOOR-
WAY, SHOWING ASH-STREWN FLOOR AND BEYOND IT THE CULT NICHE

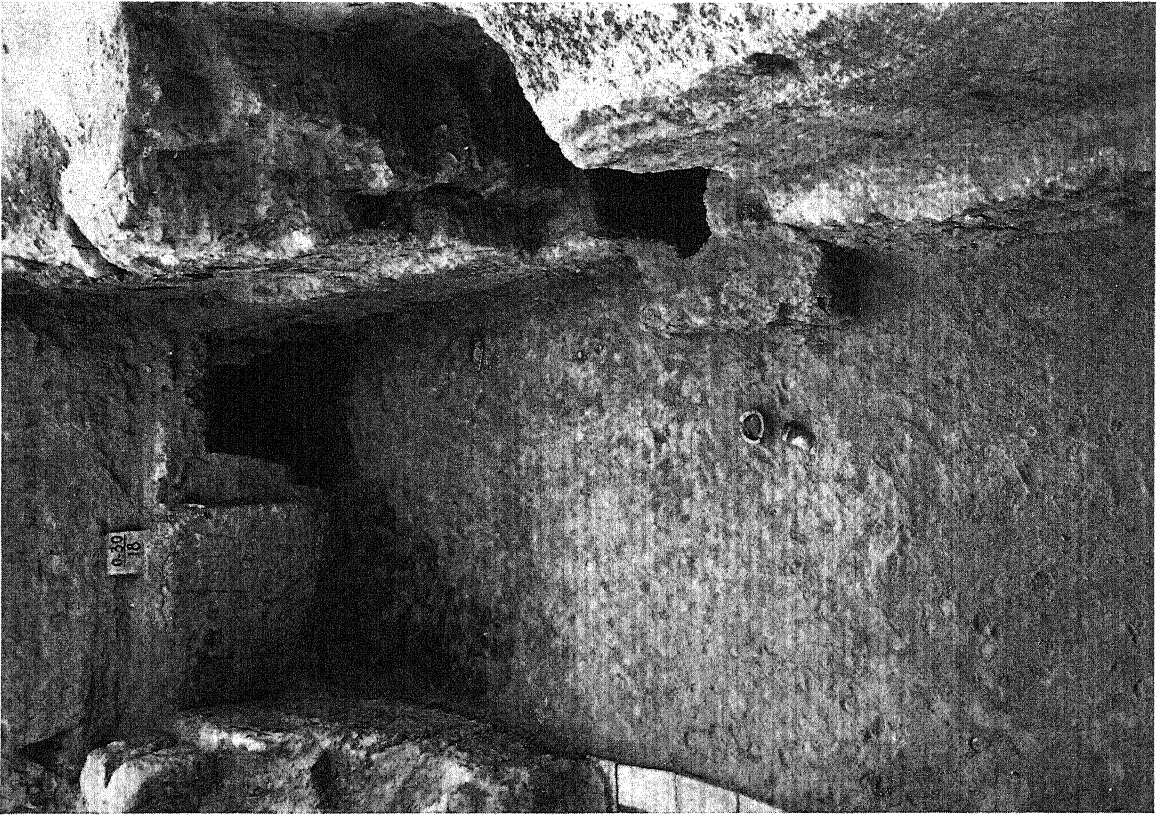


FIG. 11.—CELLA VIEWED FROM NORTHEAST



FIG. 12.—CELLA AS SEEN FROM NORTHWEST, SHOWING DIFFERENT FLOOR LEVELS

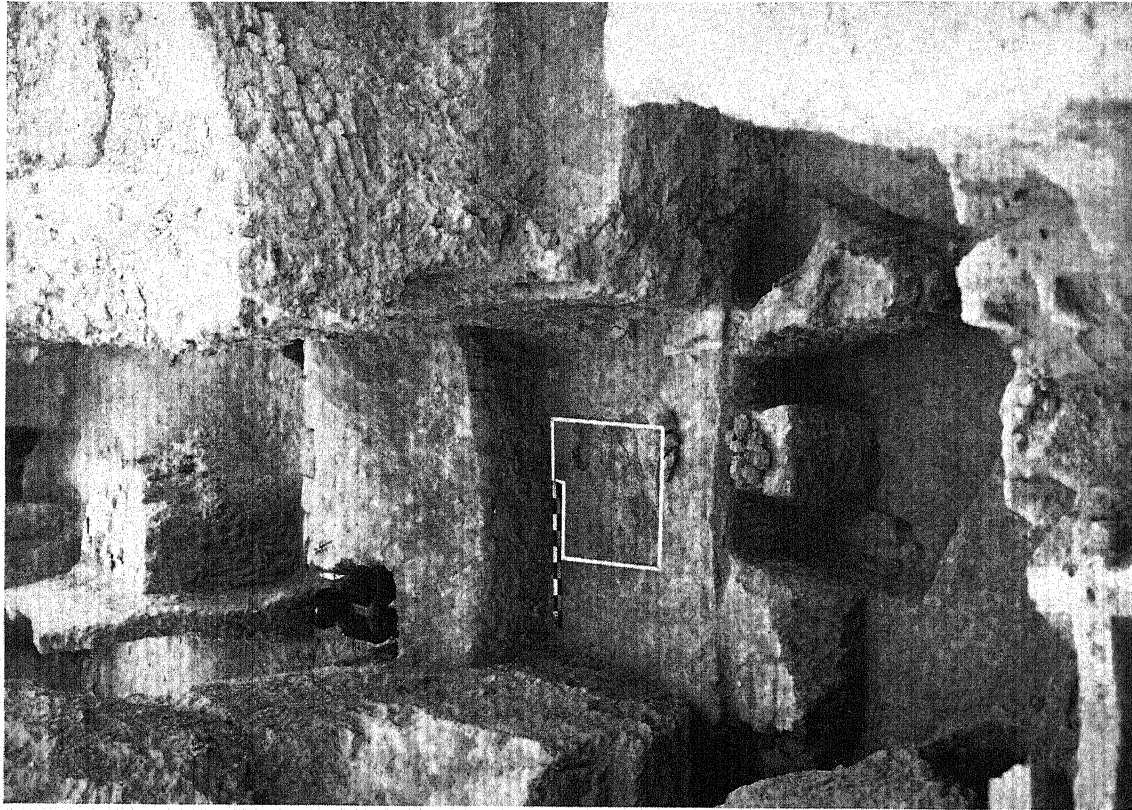


FIG. 13.—ENTRANCE DOORWAY TO CELLA, SHOWING WALL LATER USED TO BLOCK ENTRANCE; SEEN FROM NORTH, ABOVE NICHE

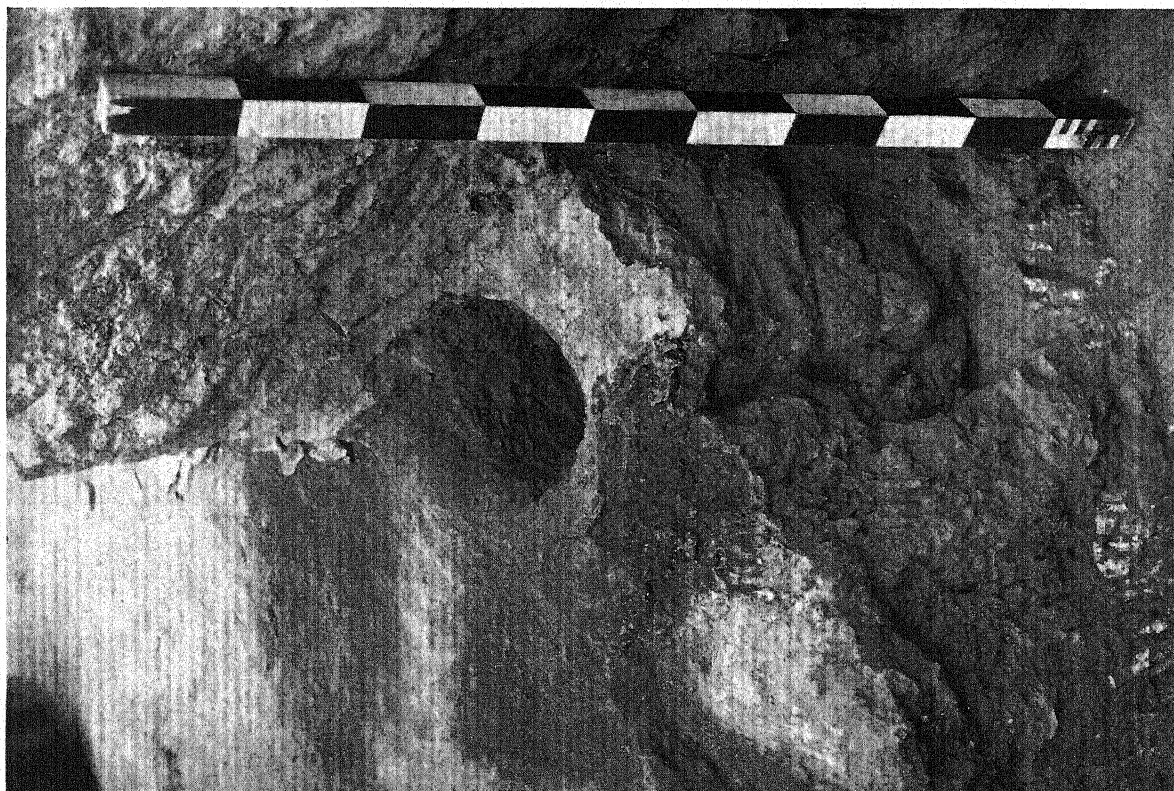


FIG. 14.—BRICK SHAFT OVER WESTERN PIVOT STONE AT ENTRANCE TO CELLA, SEEN FROM NORTHWEST

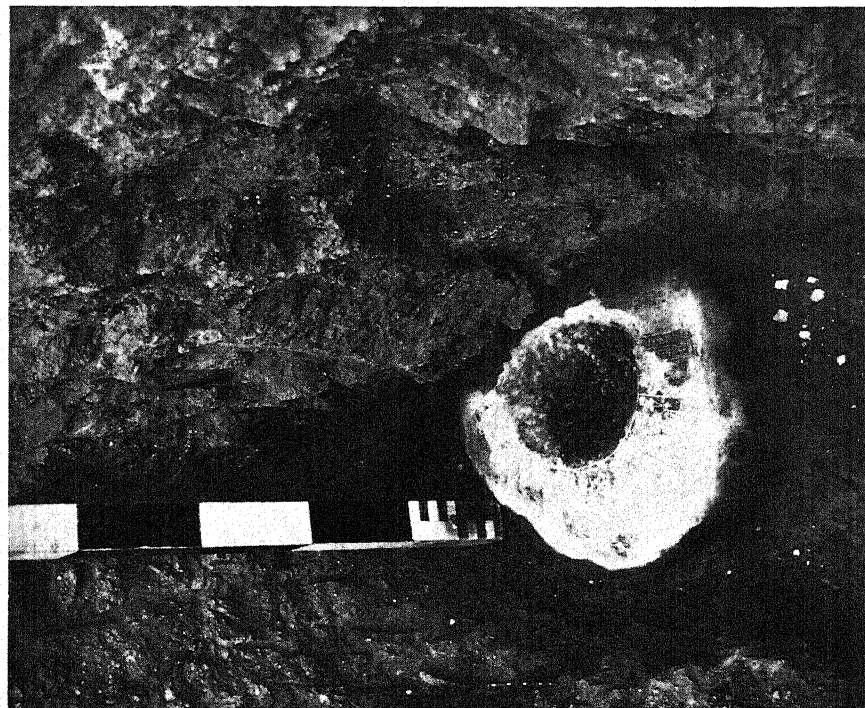


FIG. 15.—WESTERN PIVOT STONE IN CELLA, SEEN FROM WEST



FIG. 16.—CELLA AS SEEN FROM NORTHWEST, SHOWING WESTERN PIVOT STONE EXPOSED AND, IN BACKGROUND AT LEFT, KILN OF A LATER PERIOD



FIG. 17.—CELLA AS SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST, SHOWING DRAINS AND DIFFERENT FLOOR LEVELS

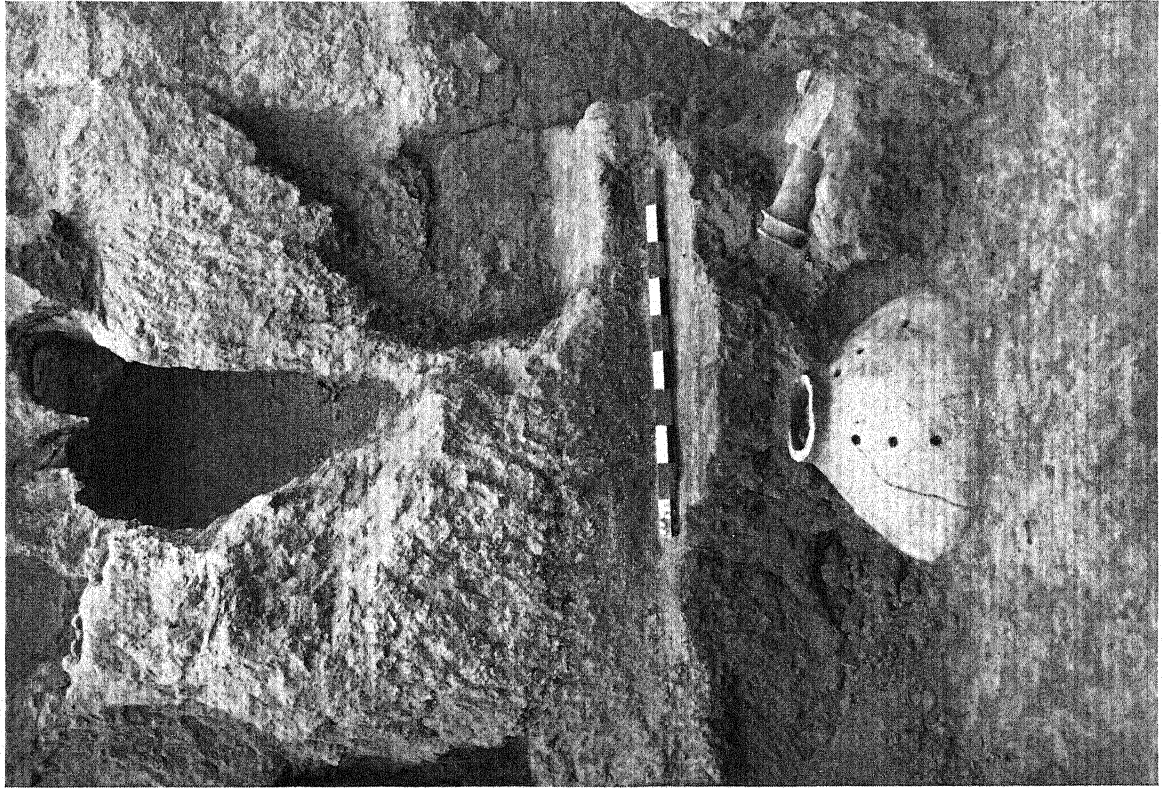


FIG. 18.—NICHE IN CELLA, SHOWING LATER KILN STILL IN POSITION AND DRAINS AT FOOT OF STEP; SEEN FROM SOUTH

as likely to have been intended to drain the libations and, perhaps, the blood of sacrifices.⁵ An additional piece of similar piping was found lying by itself near by.

On cleaning the niche after the later kiln had been removed (it was still in position when Fig. 18 was photographed) we found that the floor of the niche platform (*parakku*) was pierced by a roughly circular shaft (Figs. 10, 11, and 17). This we emptied, finding it to be about 3 meters deep and slightly bell-shaped at the bottom. It appears to have been cut at a later period, because in the grayish green rubbish it contained there were a number of seal impressions dating to a later reign (see pp. 52 and 147) but no signs of any burnt substance, and also because it cuts into the front face of the *parakku*. Its situation in the center of the niche, however, does seem intentional.

It was not until we had penetrated beneath the burnt floor in investigating the pottery objects in front of the niche steps that it became clear that there was an earlier floor (marked *b* in Figs. 12 and 19) and that floor *a* therefore belonged to a second occupation. This was further confirmed when we had cleared this room and the smaller one adjoining it down to the lower floor (*b*), leaving only small portions of the upper floor (*a*) standing; for in both rooms the thick burnt plaster of the walls ended at the burnt floor level (*a*), and between this and the lower floor (*b*) there was an area of wall face, unburnt and thinly plastered, set back some centimeters from the burnt face. This suggested, of course, that the walls had been heavily replastered at the beginning of the second occupation.

The next interesting evidence of the earliest occupation appeared when we came to dig down to the pivot stones. First, it was found that the small plastered shaft for the door pivot, which we had noticed before, was roughly built up in brick between the two floor levels (Figs. 14 and 19; cf. Fig. 16). Secondly, we discovered just below the lower floor, starting near the pivot stone and running out about 1.30 meters in the direction of the niche, the remnants of a line of thick reeds standing vertically to a height of about 25 cm. and cut off at the lower floor level (Figs. 12, 14, and 19). These were unquestionably the remains of a reed screen which had been destroyed after the first occupation and not replaced at the second. The screen had probably served to protect the more intimate part of the shrine from the public gaze.⁶

In the main doorway of the cella there had been a bitumen-covered doorsill of baked bricks belonging to the earlier period, of which only three broken bricks near the wall and a little bitumen remained. Beneath this on the north side there appeared (outlined in Fig. 13) a rectangular slab of tablet clay, about 80 × 50 cm. in size, which we hoped would prove to be the cover of a foundation deposit. However, as nothing was found when it was broken up except a fragment of a seal impression bearing the name of Kirikiri (seal legend No. 12), we came to the conclusion that this clay was more likely a deposit left by rain water which had accumulated after the foundation deposit had been pilfered, probably at the time of the aforementioned ruler.

At the level at which the western pivot stone was laid, about 15 cm. beneath the earlier

⁵ [Cf. *OIC* No. 16, pp. 22 f. Scenes of libations offered in front of the god are common, and unless some arrangement for drainage existed, puddles would be bound to form on the floors of tamped earth. Moreover, the absorption of the fluid by the soil may well have been a ritual requirement, which could most conveniently be fulfilled by such short, bottomless pottery drains as we have found. The mouth of the drain would be invisible, since it would be covered by a spool-shaped pottery stand such as is shown on reliefs (e.g. on the stela of Urnammu [Ur-Engur] in *Antiquaries Journal* V [1925] Pl. XLVIII and on an Early Dynastic limestone plaque, *ibid.* VI [1926] Pl. LIII; see also Sidney Smith in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, IV [1926] 72) and in representations on seals (e.g. As. 30:37 and 30:39, pp. 203 f. below).—H. F.]

⁶ [C. L. Woolley found a comparatively well preserved reed screen with wooden frame in a corresponding position in the chapel of "Pa-Sag" in Ur (*Antiquaries Journal* XI [1931] 369 and Pl. XLIX 2). The position in the Gimilsin Temple decides his alternative of door or screen in favor of the latter.—H. F.]

floor, there was a layer of gray ashes (marked *c* in Figs. 12 and 19); but, as this was found to continue beneath the north wall of the temple, we attributed it merely to the scattering of ashes during the ceremonial consecration of the site before the temple was built.⁷ The fact that the eastern pivot stone was laid at a somewhat higher level than that of its fellow is probably to be explained by the assumption that it had for some reason been raised at the beginning

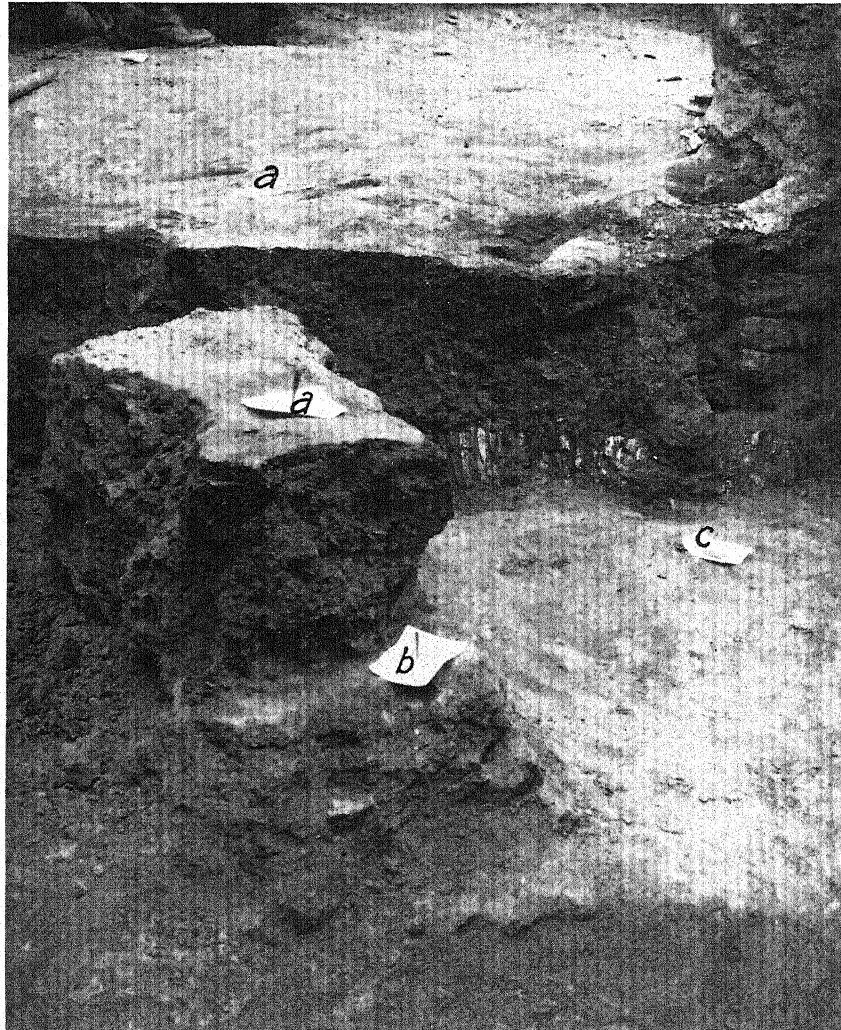


FIG. 19.—VIEW FROM NORTHWEST TOWARD CELLA ENTRANCE, SHOWING DIFFERENT FLOOR LEVELS OF CELLA, THE BRICK SHAFT OVER THE WESTERN PIVOT STONE, AND THE REMAINS OF A REED SCREEN AT LOWEST FLOOR LEVEL

of the second occupation, for it could not have been used during the first in the position in which we found it.

Passing out into the court (O 30:17), we found at the upper level a slightly blackened floor of trodden earth, and in the northwest corner a number of tablets were discovered. On digging beneath this floor along the northerly wall we found, as in the cella, a plastered wall face extending downward about 15 cm. and slightly set back from that above it (Fig. 20). At its base was a row of large baked paving bricks, which were later found to run, almost uninter-

⁷ [See, for instance, Gudea Statue C iii 6-7: "Das Fundament hat er gereinigt und durch Feuer" (SAK, p. 77).—H. F.]



FIG. 20.—CENTRAL COURT OF THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE WITH A VIEW BEYOND IT INTO THE CELLA

ruptedly, round all four sides of the court; this suggests that the court was open to the rain. One difference between these walls and those of the cella seemed significant: in the court the higher wall faces show very few signs of fire except at the corners. At the northwest there is a distinct line rising from a few centimeters above the floor near the northern doorway to about a meter high in the corner; and from beneath this line came ashes and burnt debris. This fact likewise makes it probable that this central court was hypethral, and judging from the varying accumulation of ashes in the various corners one might even venture to calculate the direction of the wind on the occasion of the fire. Traces of the fire were found only in the court and in the northwestern rooms of the building (O 30:8, 12, and 18)—a fact which probably explains why it was only this northwest portion of the temple which required rebuilding in the next period.

It seems probable that the upper (earthen) floor in the court sloped down toward the south, because on reaching the south wall the floor levels of the two occupations are indistinguishable, and the plaster of the wall of the later period is traceable right down to the brick pavement of the earlier occupation. After the whole court had been cleared down to the pavement level, it became evident, from broken paving bricks and their spacing in rows in relation to those at the foot of the walls, that the entire court must originally have been paved. The paving must have sloped toward a small channel in the middle, running north and south, except that a quite level portion of the pavement in front of the southerly entrance doorway must have shown a small vertical face on its north side where the channel made contact with it. This portion showed signs of having been repaired with cement. One would suppose that a drain in the center of the court carried away the rain water (cf. p. 48); but this is uncertain, as the two vertical pottery "soak-aways" seen in Figure 20, lower right, descend from a higher level. Directly in front of the doorway to the cella there appeared a rough square of baked bricks laid level with the pavement, presumably the foundation of a small altar or offering-table, though no remains of the latter were found.

It is difficult to assign any particular function to the two rooms east of the court. The northeast room (P 30:4) had a drain made of circular pipe sections, each with one end slightly contracted to fit into its neighbor. This drain started at the south end of the room in a circle of baked bricks with remains of bitumen in the center (probably the bottom course of a vertical shaft) and ran through the center of the doorway into the court. The drain must have been laid beneath the floor of the original building. Its presence supports the view that the temple court also had been provided with a drain of some sort.

The room to the south (P 30:3) offered various features difficult to explain during the excavation. The investigation was made considerably more difficult by the fact that a great circular well of baked bricks (P 30:1; cf. p. 80) descended at this point from a higher level and occupied much of the northern part of the room. At the south end of the room, forming a rough semicircle and appearing also across the doorway into the court, the under surface of the springing of a rough clay vault was discovered; and only inside the area covered by the vault could the floor of the room be found at a level corresponding to that in the court outside. Furthermore, the outer corners of the doorjambs were hard to trace near the ground, for there were signs that a steep ramp of hard-trodden earth had led up to the doorway. One possible explanation of the earthen vault offered itself: since the vault seems to have been constructed only of trodden clay, with the underside unplastered, it may be that a great pile of grain or some such material—perhaps offerings to the temple—had accumulated and that in order to store this it was covered with earth, which was then pressed down and evened off to make a floor at a higher level. The grain would later have been extracted from above, leaving a roughly vaulted compartment which could be re-used for the same purpose.

The entrance vestibule (P 31:1) was obviously in the nature of a *chambre de concierge*. The floor level clearly corresponded with the brick paving in the northerly and southerly vestibule doorways and therefore apparently dated from the first occupation. This dating is confirmed by the fact that here also, as in the southern part of the court, the very thick plastering on the walls is traceable right down to the pavement level. Just inside the northerly entrance to the vestibule numerous tablets were discovered (see p. 48). We penetrated about 1 meter below the floor and, finding that here again one could tunnel under the walls without encountering brickwork, concluded that we were beneath the earliest foundation.

We next turned our attention to room P 31:2, leading off from the vestibule to the east. Here, quite near the surface of the mound, we had previously discovered a flight of six steps of sun-dried bricks burnt hard and red like the plastered wall faces adjoining. The steps appeared to have formed part of a staircase (see Pl. IX B) leading to the roof at the time of Bilalama (cf. p. 48) and to have been burned in a fire which destroyed the complete complex as rebuilt by him. On further investigation of the whole compartment it became increasingly evident that this staircase, from the top step found by us upward, must have been suspended either upon wooden beams or upon a system of vaulting. Since it is possible that the room with the staircase belonged to the original structure and was re-used by Bilalama, it may well be described here.

At the earliest building period, room P 31:2 (see Pl. IX B) had a tamped earth floor at a level corresponding to that in the adjoining vestibule and appears to have been empty. At some later time, though perhaps during the period of the first occupation, a mass of brickwork was built into the northwest corner to support a short flight of stairs and a landing (indicated in Pl. IX B). Additional brickwork was erected from this corner along the northerly wall to a point under the top step of the series found by us. At that point the brickwork presented a vertical wall facing east and extending from the top step down to the tamped earth floor. Obviously this brickwork was meant to support the second flight of steps.

At the same time a low wall was built across the doorway from the vestibule. This wall had no very definite face on the west side, and the earth adjoining it at the top seemed to be trodden abnormally hard. From this we conclude that the wall served as a retaining wall for a ramp leading up from the vestibule. After the retaining wall and the ramp had been erected, the room must have been filled with rubble to the height of the retaining wall, so that a new floor level was created about 1 meter above the original floor of tamped earth.

The stairs seem to have commenced from the new floor level. The angle at which the existing steps along the northerly wall descend accords well with this view. The six steps which we found seem to have been made of sun-dried bricks which were later burned hard in the fire. The steps were constructed between the plastered northerly wall and a thin, plastered wall built at the outer edge of the stairs and perhaps extending up to the ceiling ("partition wall" in Pl. IX B). As pointed out before, the brickwork beneath the uppermost step ends in a wall facing east and extending down to the earliest floor level.

Unless the stairs from here on were suspended and led up to the roof, the staircase can have served no discernible purpose. Since between the top step of the second flight and the easterly wall of the room there is a space of approximately the same width as that of the existing steps, we conclude that a second landing existed with a third flight of steps leading to the roof, as suggested in Plate I. This landing and third flight of steps were probably supported by a wooden substructure, since there was no evidence of supporting brickwork and strong evidence of violent fire (see below).

Leading into the part of the room beneath the third flight of steps, between the thin partition wall mentioned above and the southerly wall of the room, a doorway must have existed;

for a pivot stone was found in place, and the faces of the doorjambs were covered with burnt plaster. In the inner room we discovered remains of a pavement of broken bricks with a pottery drain beneath it, suggesting that it was used as a toilet by doorkeeper and guard.

Eliciting this information from the ruins was not an easy task. What made the whole arrangement so puzzling at first was that the doorway with the pivot stone was filled with a solid mass of brickwork, burnt red and hard, apparently composed of evenly laid bricks. This started above a layer of ashes and burnt debris about half a meter thick. It was not till the latter had been cleared away that the underside of the obstructing mass was seen to be burnt as hard and as red as its east and west sides; and it became clear that this was merely a portion of the upper structure of the staircase which, when its supports were burned away, had slipped down in the doorway and subsided onto the burning debris beneath. The great heat which must have been necessary to burn this brickwork into a solid mass makes it more probable still that wooden beams were used to support the upper structure.

The theory that the staircase dates from the earliest building is not proved and depends mainly on the existence of the short ramp in the west doorway. However, it was not practical to show this ramp (in the thickness of the wall) on Plate I. In this reconstruction two inclined ways are drawn where we believe that a later builder constructed stairs. The substitution of stairs for the inclined ways is suggested on Plate IV; for other details of this room in the Bilalama period see Plates III and IX *B*. Neither Plate I nor Plate IV shows the lowest steps or the first landing; they are indicated clearly on Plate IX *B*.

Toward the end of the 1931/32 season we made an attempt to discover foundation deposits by sinking deep shafts into the outer walls of the building at the northeast and southwest corners and also by breaking into the jamb of the cella doorway beneath the floor level. These attempts proved unsuccessful.

THE PALACE OF ILUSHUILIA AND THE PALACE CHAPEL

Of the remaining buildings in this group, that adjoining the temple was, in the early stages of the excavation, provisionally described as a palace. Later this proved to be correct. It may be that the palace and the palace chapel west of it were begun by Ituria; but they were certainly completed by Ilushuilia, and hence these buildings are designated by his name.⁸

During our first season the central court of the palace (M 31:1) was dug to a level well beneath the earliest foundation (see pp. 8 f.). It was during the course of this work that we were able to identify the various rebuildings and, with the help of the inscribed bricks used at these successive stages, to associate them with a line of local rulers. We also traced the surrounding rooms belonging to the upper layers and found that the palace plan in successive periods showed a disposition of features frequently found in Babylonian public buildings and subsequently recognized by us in the "Southern Building" also (see pp. 89-91). This palace plan consists of a partially paved central court having a small doorway near each of the four corners and a larger one in the middle of the easterly wall. The latter was on the central axis of the court and led to a long, rectangular room beyond—somewhat on the principal of court and cella in the Gimilsin Temple, though the "cella" in this case had no niche. From this "cella" access was obtained through a vestibule to a great rectangular hall. The absence of a niche and the fact that the "cella" is accessible from behind are arguments in favor of the assumption that the building had a secular function and that the "cella" was in reality the Throneroom.

⁸ *OIC* No. 16, pp. 12-14.

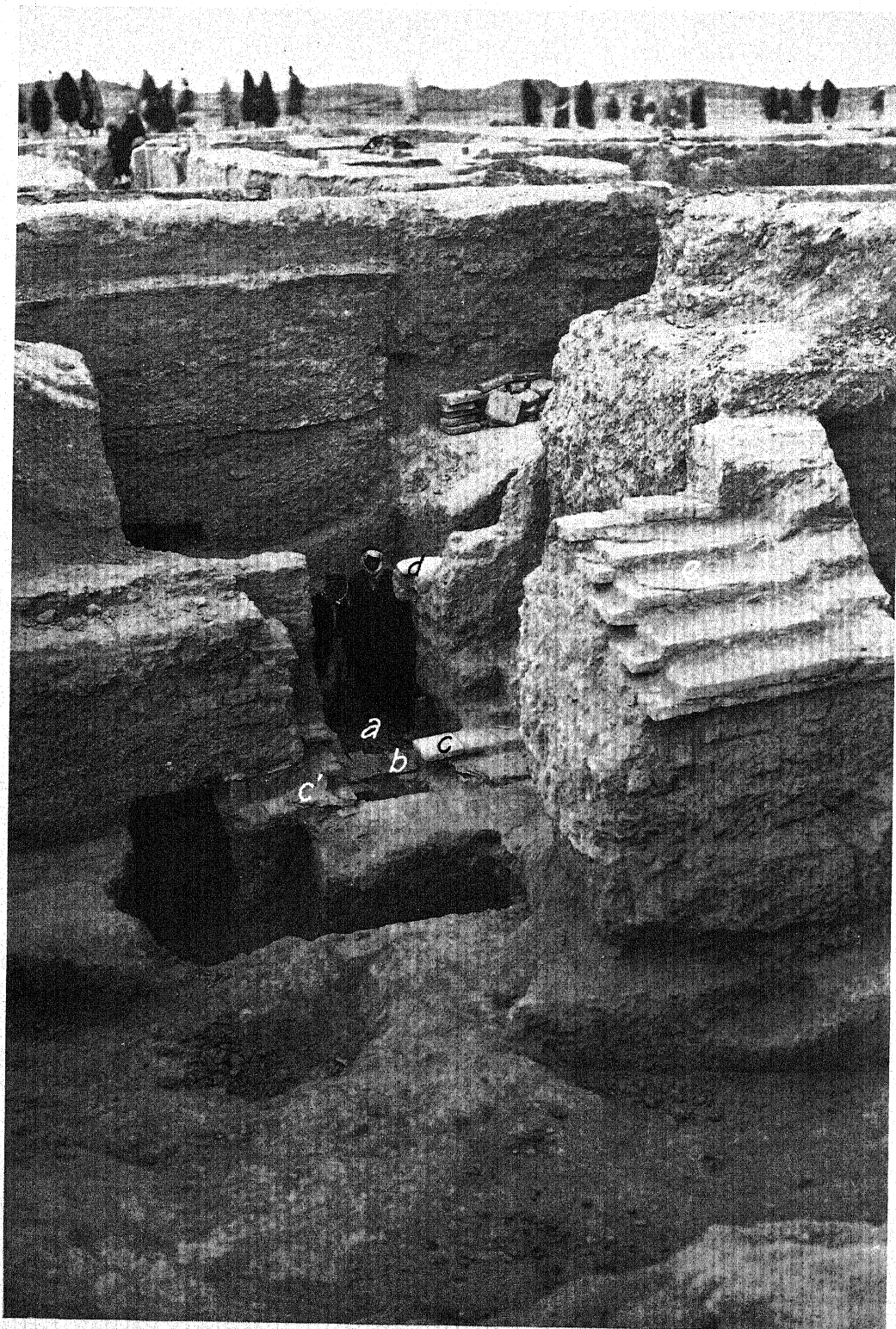


FIG. 21.—SOUTHEASTERN ENTRANCE OF THE PALACE, SHOWING THE LEVELS OF ILUSHULIA (*a*), NURAHUM (*b*), AND BILALAMA (*c*, *c'*), A PIVOT STONE OF AN INTERMEDIATE LEVEL (*d*), AND THE STAIRWAY OF IBIQADAD I (*e*); SEEN FROM SOUTH

The entrance from the street to the central court of the palace was through a corridor-like series of chambers (N 31:1-3 and M 32:10), another familiar arrangement in Babylonian palaces. Other features of the palace were a group of three rooms, which we believe (see p. 32) to have been private apartments for the ruler, and two paved staircases, one of which probably led to the roof.

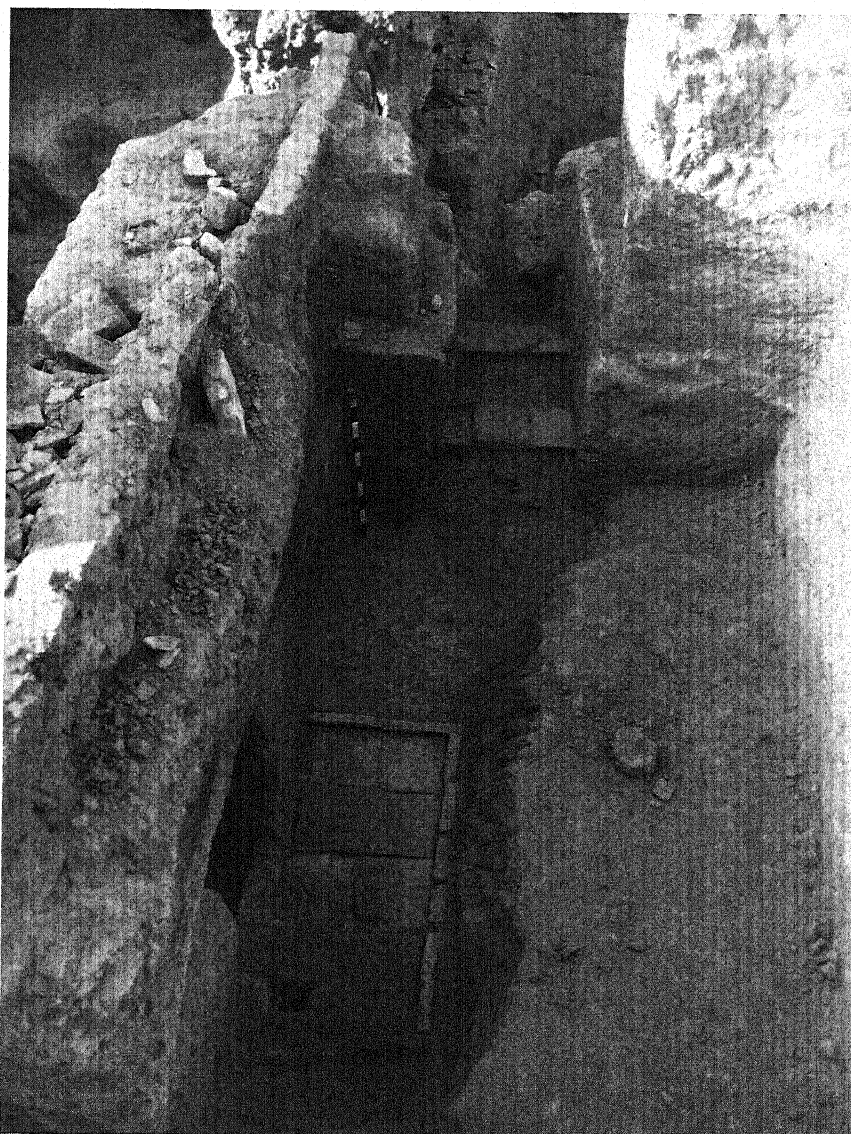


FIG. 22.—ANTEROOM M 32:10, SHOWING DOORWAY INTO PALACE COURT AND ABLUTION PAVEMENT BEFORE DOORWAY INTO PALACE CHAPEL; SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

The third and last building, that to the west of the palace, was undoubtedly a small temple; it was very similar in plan to the Gimilsin Temple, except that it had an antecella between the cella and the court. Unfortunately no indication has been found of the name of the god worshiped here; but it seems reasonable to suppose that it served as a palace chapel, and hence we have called it by that name.

All three buildings faced south onto a partially paved street. The main entrance to the

palace was at the southeastern corner near where the palace adjoins the Gimilsin Temple. A little east of this entrance we found a few large paving bricks in place; they seemed to be the first of a line forming a narrow pavement along the base of the wall, probably intended to take the drip of rain water. At a later level we found fragments of pavement at right angles to the wall, running out toward the center of the street (at N 32:1 and N 31; see pp. 78 f.); and beneath the eastern one, a bit west of the entrance doorway, a row of three great circular earthenware cisterns stood in place near the wall (see Fig. 69). We have concluded that these



FIG. 23.—NORTHWESTERN CORNER OF PALACE COURT, SHOWING LINE OF PAVING BRICKS AT BASE OF WALL AND THE DRAIN FROM M 31:16 AT THE ILUSHULIA LEVEL; SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

pavements mark the points where rain water was discharged from the roof, and the perspective reconstruction in our frontispiece shows three pottery spouts, similar to those found elsewhere in this building, dripping rain water from behind a parapet into the cisterns. This is precisely in accordance with the methods still used in Arab buildings in Iraq.

The entrance doorway had two steps leading down into a small entrance vestibule, N 31:1 (Fig. 21, *a*). These steps were repeated at a higher level (*b*) at the next rebuilding. Later the relation of floor and street levels changed, so that two steps (*c*) led up, not down, to the palace entrance; and an impressive flight of five wide stairs (*e*) led up from the street to the vestibule of one of the later palaces (see p. 78). The position of the entrance remained the same, however, showing an extraordinary conservatism of planning.

Leaving the entrance vestibule, one passed to the west through two long chambers, N 31:2 and 3, before reaching a smaller anteroom, M 32:10 (Fig. 22), which gave directly into the central court. This anteroom had a third doorway leading into the chapel and must have been the usual approach to that building; for immediately before the doorway we found a small rectangular pavement⁹ with a low curb all around which could only have been a place where ablutions were performed before entering the chapel.

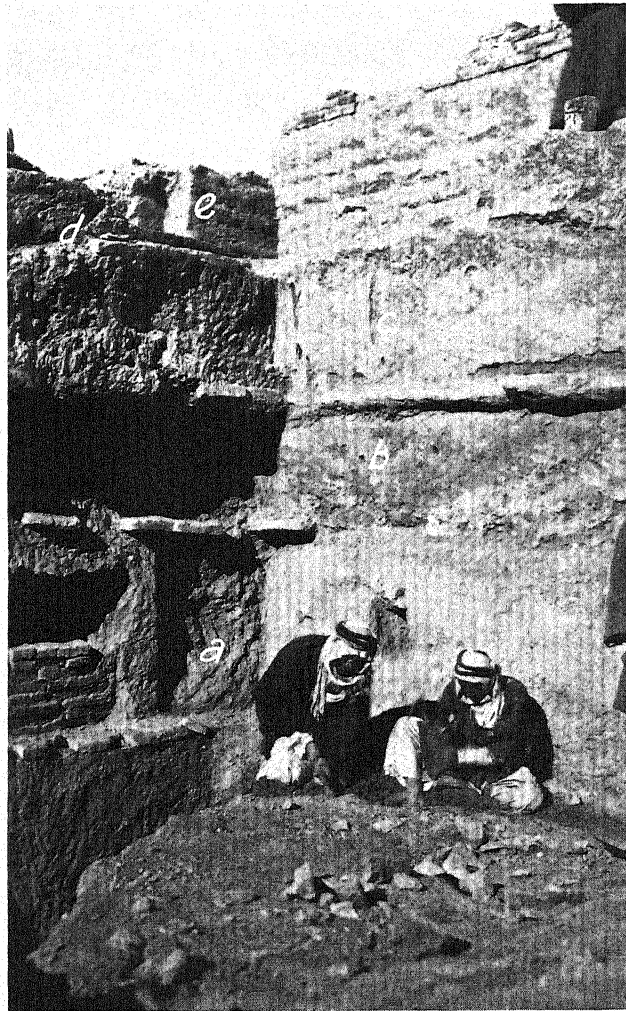


FIG. 24.—NORTHWESTERN CORNER OF PALACE COURT, SHOWING DOORWAY AT ILUSHUILLA LEVEL (*a*), LEVELS OF BILALAMA (*b*) AND URNINMAR (*c*), AN IBIQADAD I DRAIN (*d*), REBATED DOORWAY AND WALL OF AN ANONYMOUS BUILDER (*e*), AND IBALPIEL I BRICKS (*f*); SEEN FROM EAST

The thresholds of the doorway from the ablution room into the court (M 31:1) and of the great axial doorway in the easterly wall of the court were paved, and adjoining the latter we found remains of a pavement four bricks wide running across the court to the doorway of the ablution room. This suggested that the palace court, like that of the temple, was hypethral (cf. p. 25). Moreover, it was found to have a single line of paving bricks around the base of the walls (Figs. 23 and 24) similar to those in the street and probably serving the same purpose; for, not being completely paved, the palace court would tend to become muddy after rain.

⁹ Marked "ablution slab" on Pl. I.

During the subsequent occupations the floor of the court sloped toward the center, indicating that a system of drains existed to carry off the water. A vertical drain of earthenware units descending from a higher level was actually found here (Fig. 1), and it seems likely that at the period of Ilushuilia the same method of draining was employed.

The doorway in the northwest corner of the court led through a tiny vestibule (M 31:16) into a suite of three rooms (M 31:8, 20, and 19). The square middle room (M 31:20) and the rectangular room (M 31:19) to the east of it were connected by a wide doorway in the center of the dividing wall. Thus the two rooms formed, on a small scale, a unit corresponding to that of the central court and the Throneroom. A wide doorway connecting two rooms on their main axis is a feature which never occurs in the Tell Asmar buildings except in a unit of this nature, and it will later be seen how a similar series of rooms in the palace of Bilalama is again identifiable as the ruler's private apartments (see p. 62). Moreover, on the western side of the vestibule (M 31:16) we found a small curbed pavement; from beneath it a drain consisting of long jars, each with its bottom broken through and thrust into the mouth of the next, ran out into the court (Fig. 23). This arrangement can be explained only as providing facilities for ablution before entering the presence of the ruler. It is for these reasons that we have called this group of rooms the "private suite."

The northeastern doorway of the court led into an L-shaped room (M 31:17). Reconstruction of the original plan is a little complicated by later additions, but the shape of the room seems to be due to a passage running in from the unexcavated area behind the building; and since the wall in the northeast corner of the room was much dilapidated, we have suggested a doorway into the passage at this point. Opposite this was the foot of a flight of steps (M 31:18), roughly paved with uninscribed bricks and broken into at one point by a vertical pottery drain from a higher level (Fig. 25). The mass of brickwork supporting this stairway came to an abrupt end a little beyond the top remaining step, and there is no indication of where the staircase led in this period. Outside the northwest wall, in the area of M 30:20 and M 31:23 at about the earliest floor level, were found great quantities of tablets and fragments of tablets which seemed to have been discarded (see pp. 142 and 159). These and the rubbish lying here made it clear that we were now outside the building.

Another staircase existed in a room to the northeast of the passage referred to above. It was approached through an anteroom (N 30:7) to the north of the large rectangular room (N 31:6) which we have called the Throneroom. In this case the steps were of sun-dried bricks; but since in spite of their soft consistency their edges were quite undamaged from having been trodden on, they must certainly have been paved with baked bricks which were later removed. Entering from the anteroom, one faced two steps leading to the first landing; from there a flight of seven steps ascended eastward along the northerly wall to a second landing. From there a further series of steps must have led up southward along the easterly wall to the roof; for a mass of brickwork, of exactly the right width for a stairway and found in the proper position to support an upper flight of stairs such as that suggested, would otherwise be inexplicable. This brickwork (N 30:14) blocked up a doorway leading east into the Great Hall. This fact, among others, leads one to the conclusion that the Great Hall was built before it occurred to anyone to have a staircase in this position. West of the doorway just mentioned and beneath the mass of brickwork a large jar was found with the remains of a jar sealing bearing the name of Ilushuilia (As. 31:T.663; seal legend No. 8). This staircase was therefore built either in or after his reign. It cannot well have been long after he died, for this stairway was replaced by a second stairway; the latter was built by Nurahum, whom we consider to be Ilushuilia's successor (see p. 46).

The Great Hall itself (N 30:3) showed no evidence whatsoever of paving or provision for

draining away rain water, and in many places its walls have fine plaster surfaces. All this points to its having been roofed. That the walls surrounding it are considerably thicker than most of the other interior walls in the palace bears out this theory. Thick walls would be par-



FIG. 25.—STAIRCASE (M 31:18) NORTH OF PRIVATE SUITE IN ILUSHUILIA PALACE, SEEN FROM EAST

ticularly necessary if the hall was vaulted, and vaulting seems the most likely solution of the problem of constructing a roof to span 6 meters when timber is hard to obtain. Moreover, on closer examination it was found that there is a uniform thickening of the easterly and westerly walls at either end where they are pierced by doorways. Unless the hall when first built was a

separate unit and this strengthening of the walls constituted a formal arrangement to improve the architectural appearance, it must have been a scientific attempt to give greater stability to the structure.



FIG. 26.—ROOMS N 30:9 AND 11 NORTHWEST OF THE GREAT HALL, SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

There remains only the problem of how the hall was lighted. It has been suggested that in some cases where small paved rooms appear these may have served the purpose of light wells. However, none of these occur near the Great Hall. One can therefore only conclude that it obtained clerestory light of some sort, the roof rising (as it certainly would do if it was vaulted) some distance above that of the rest of the building. We have drawn it as a raised flat roof in our perspective reconstruction (frontispiece), but there seemed insufficient evidence to justify an indication of the method of lighting.

Several doorways in the Great Hall led into rooms which we believe to have been government offices (cf. p. 3). One doorway led northwest into two small communicating rooms, N 30:11 and 9 (Fig. 26). The wall bounding N 30:11 on the northwest appeared to be almost completely obliterated (Fig. 27), leaving broken ends at the east and west. We have restored it, however, as it was rebuilt in the next epoch, for this was clearly the northern limit of the building. Still following the plan of the next period, the northerly wall has been projected to the point where, with another wall, it forms the northeast corner of the building.

A second doorway led east from the Great Hall into N 30:2, which communicated with N 30:1 and N 30:10. A third doorway, at the south end of the easterly wall of the Great Hall,

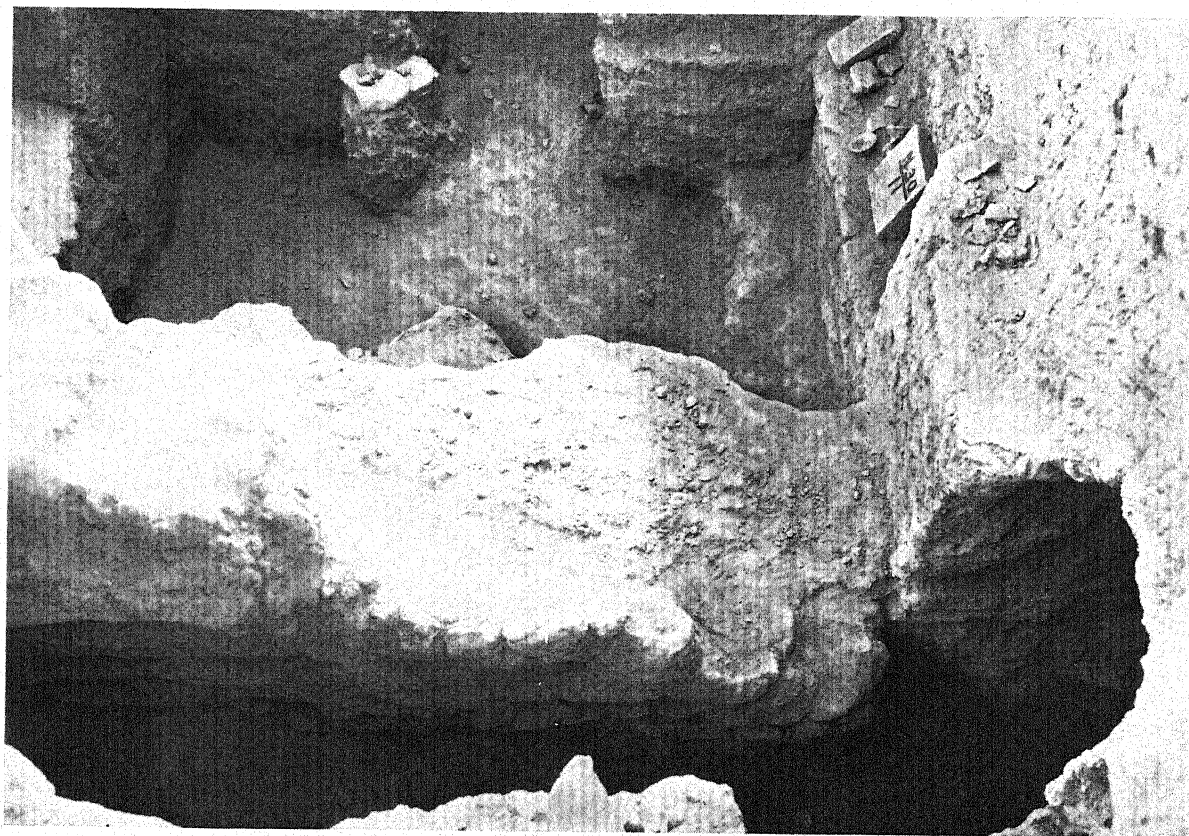


FIG. 27.—NORTHWEST WALL OF ROOM N 30:11, SEEN FROM NORTHWEST

led into a small room, O 31:5. North of this is an inclosure (O 30:19) which may have been only an unroofed space between the two buildings, since we found quantities of ashes from the earlier temple fire, apparently blown here by the wind. The doorway into O 30:19 from O 31:5 and the northerly wall of the latter have been restored tentatively. We were unable to trace them because of the foundations of a great wall of a later period (pp. 68 and 81 f.).

Passing through the fourth door of the Great Hall, namely that in the southeastern wall, one first entered N 31:10, the easternmost of a line of three long, communicating rooms. The second, N 31:13, had a doorway leading into the Throneroom; the third, N 31:4, had one leading into the courtyard. To the east of N 31:10 is a vestibule (O 31:8), from which a doorway led into the temple (see p. 14). To the southwest of this vestibule and connected with it by a doorway was a tiny square room, O 31:9, paved at a higher level with Nurahum bricks which showed signs of having been covered with bitumen (see Fig. 34). This room may well

have been similarly paved at the earliest period and may have been used as a place for performing ablutions before entering the temple. There was, however, a paved room (O 31:2) for performing ablutions just inside the temple itself, and hence it is possible that O 31:9 served only as a light shaft.



FIG. 28.—Room M 32:11, SHOWING DOORWAY AND PAVEMENT AT ILUSHULIA LEVEL AND, IN LOWER RIGHT, A WALL FACE IN THE BILALAMA PALACE; SEEN FROM EAST

The fifth and sixth doorways of the Great Hall both led west, that at the northerly end of the wall opening into a room which was possibly a storeroom, while the more southerly doorway led to a vestibule and from there to the Throneroom. It seems significant that both doorways of this vestibule show unmistakable signs of having been fitted with doors. One has a small jamb built out on either side; and in connection with the other, pivot stones were found at this and at two later levels. The northerly doorway of the Throneroom also had a pivot stone, and these facts seem compatible with the function we have suggested for it.

We turn now to the palace chapel. So little of this was left standing that we were not able to

recognize it or trace its plan until the last few days of excavating in the spring of 1932, when the whole of this area had been completely cleared down to the lowest level; for, having been razed to the ground at the end of the earliest period, the chapel was never again rebuilt as a chapel but was replaced by various rooms and courtyards which were merely annexes to the palace. Consequently all the remains of subsequent rebuildings had to be removed before the chapel could be investigated. It must also be remembered that the foundation of this building lay at a considerable depth beneath the surface, and that tracing of any particular wall outside the area already excavated meant working at the bottom of a shaft about 4 meters deep

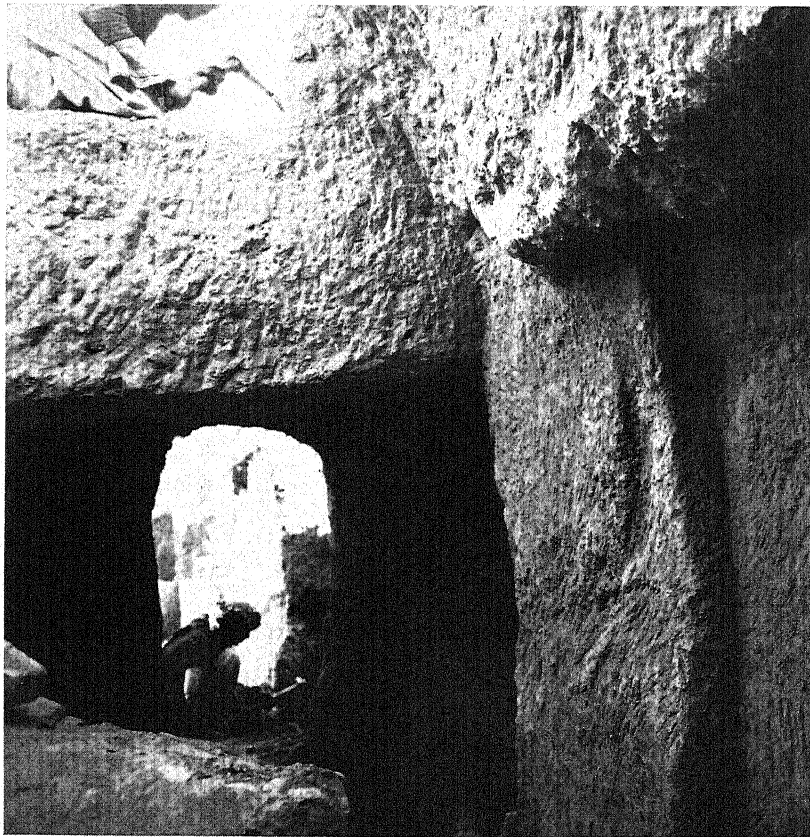


FIG. 29.—SHAFT IN M 32:12, SHOWING AT RIGHT A DOORJAMB OF PALACE CHAPEL RE-USED IN THE BILALAMA PERIOD AS A BUTTRESS AND, AT LEFT ABOVE, A FOUNDATION OF THE URNIMAR PERIOD; SEEN FROM WEST

(cf. Fig. 29). This will explain why in some cases we have traced wall faces only a sufficient distance to make the outline of the building fairly certain. For instance, the wall face behind the chapel niche was found to be set out some distance from that adjoining the northwest corner of the building, and we therefore assumed that there was a “buttress” behind it similar to that behind the niche in the Gimilsin Temple. Similarly, a buttress was found on the façade of the chapel to the right of the entrance in M 32, and on the plan we have therefore restored one to the left of it as well on the supposition that these were a formal feature corresponding to the towers of the state temple.

The general plan of the chapel is already familiar. The entrance from the street was on the main axis of the sanctuary and disclosed a vista of doorways which, when the doors were open, ended in the cult niche in the cella. Before the cella was an antecella, so that the actual shrine

was a sort of holy of holies. For the rest there was the usual series of small rectangular rooms grouped round a square central court; the only other notable feature was the unmistakable bathroom and toilet, probably for priests, leading off the antecella.

The entrance from the street was between rebated doorjambs. Two bitumen-covered steps of baked bricks descended to the entrance vestibule (M 32:16), showing that the floor level of the chapel, like that of the palace, must for some reason have been below that of the street. The small square room (M 32:5) east of the entrance vestibule had in one corner the remains



FIG. 30.—BATHROOM (L 32:4) IN PALACE CHAPEL, SHOWING DRAINPIPE FROM LATER LEVEL; SEEN FROM SOUTH-EAST

of a rough pavement with a drain beneath. The doorway leading from this room toward the palace was partly paved with large baked bricks which extended into the room beyond, M 32:11 (Fig. 28). This passage was probably much used by people going from one building to the other (cf. p. 31).

In the western end of the entrance vestibule a few fragments of baked paving bricks were found, and a line of unbroken baked bricks projected from beneath the westerly wall also. The north wall of the vestibule was almost completely gone, and it will here begin to be seen how this plan was pieced together from the most scanty remains of walls. In this case only a small section of brickwork was found at the west end; but this gave us the position of the wall, and we were able to restore a doorway in the center, since this is the only conceivable way of ap-

proaching the court and the cella. To the west of the vestibule was a second small square room, M 32:12 (Fig. 29). In this room was found a group of tablets most of which were dated to Nurahum; but two were dated to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur and one to Ilushu-ilia.

In the chapel court (M 32:15) only the southwest wall remained standing. Of the northwest wall only a small section was found intact at the west end; but in the center there were enough fragments of a brick doorsill to determine the width and position of the doorway leading to the

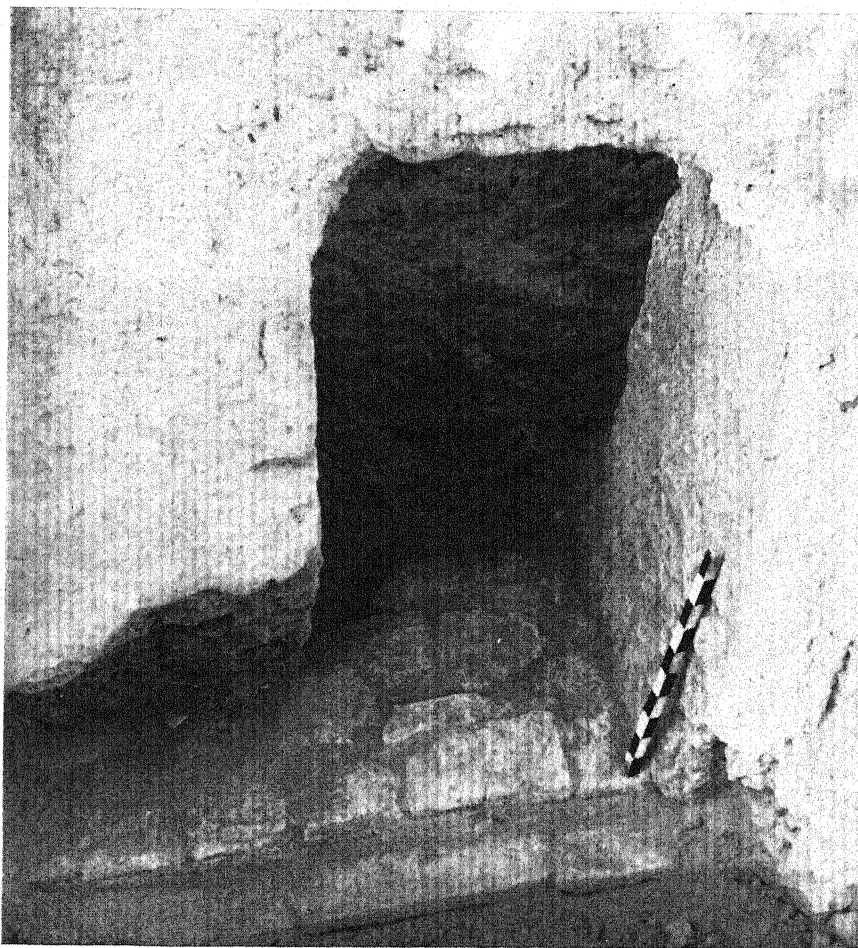


FIG. 31.—DOORWAY INTO CELLA OF CHAPEL, WITH HALF OF A LATER BLOCKING STILL IN PLACE; SEEN FROM SOUTH

antecella. The northeast wall was easier to plan, as the line of its eastern face (in M 32:18) was indicated by about two courses of a "revetment" or skirting of baked bricks laid horizontally. Here again the remains of a doorsill, exactly opposite the undamaged one in the southwestern wall, fixed the position of a doorway. No system of drainage was found, but the fact that the floor of the whole building sloped sharply to the south was probably taken advantage of in some way.

In the room to the east of the court (M 32:18) remains of the above-mentioned revetment of baked bricks were discovered on the other three sides also, the revetment varying in height from two to four courses of bricks laid horizontally; and this was literally all that was left of the walls of this room except its easterly wall. This wall owed its state of preservation to hav-

ing been rebuilt later. It was pierced by a very narrow doorway, leading to M 32:20; the doorway was partially paved and had a pivot stone on the west side.

West of the court, room M 32:13 was similar to M 32:18, but lacked the revetment along the walls. Here one may mention the destructive effect of the many vertical pottery drains

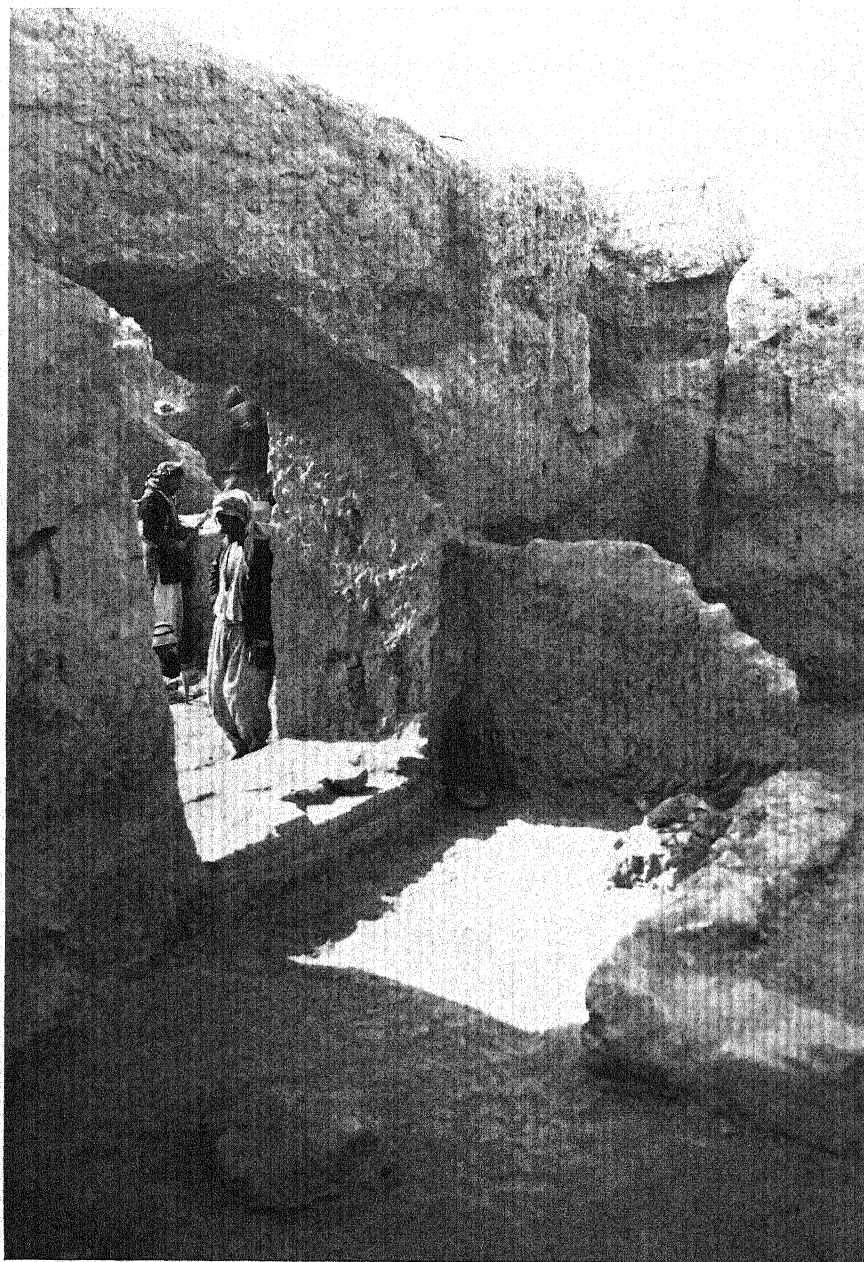


FIG. 32.—THE CHAPEL CELLA, SHOWING PAVED DOORSILL, SCREEN WALL, AND STEP IN FRONT OF NICHE; SEEN FROM NORTH

which had been sunk down into the palace chapel from higher levels (see Pl. II). In the room in question such drains occurred at three different points, and the northwest corner was almost completely obliterated by a large circular rubbish shaft of a later date.

The bathroom (L 32:4) and the adjoining toilet (L 31:5) have already been mentioned.

The former, entered from the antecella (M 32:14), had about two-thirds of the floor paved with uninscribed baked bricks, with a drain hole at the northerly end (Fig. 30). When excavated this hole had a circular earthenware drainpipe standing over it, as though the drain had been re-used at a later occupation when the floor level had risen. A doorway, later blocked, led into the toilet; its outline can be made out in Figure 30 between the drainpipe and the left-hand wall. In the toilet the northern half was paved irregularly, above a drain, with bricks larger than those used in the bathroom. The pavement was bounded by a row of narrow bricks which doubtless formed the base of a thin screen wall as shown in the reconstructed plan (Pl. I). Both these pavements were at a slightly higher level than the floor of the antecella but, like the antecella, must certainly have dated from the earliest period, since at the first rebuilding the doorway leading to them was blocked up. East of the antecella was a room, M 32:19, leading into a long narrow room, M 31:21.

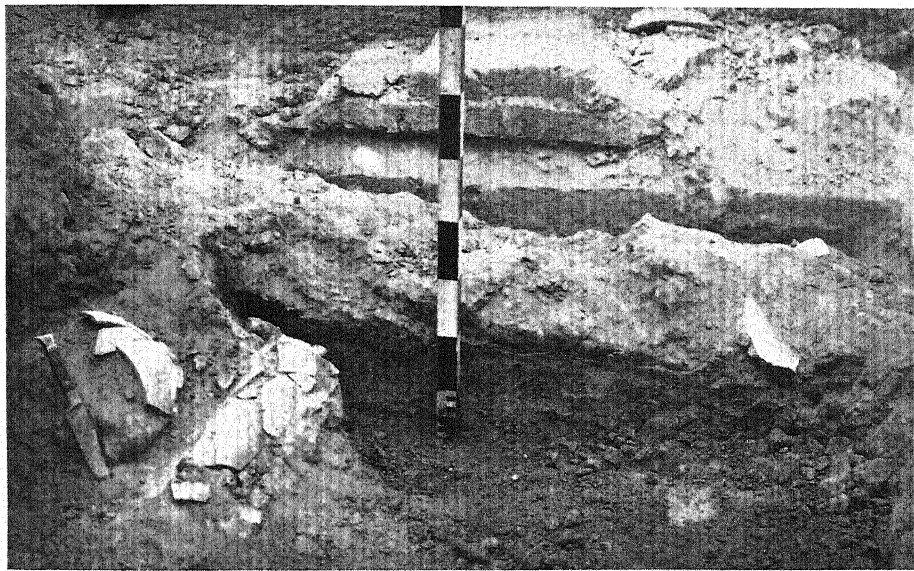


FIG. 33.—DRAIN AND JAR IN FRONT OF NICHE IN CELLA OF PALACE CHAPEL, SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

The doorway from antecella (M 32:14) to cella (L 31:11) had rebated jambs and a doorsill paved with two thicknesses of baked bricks, now in fragments. At a later period the doorway had been carefully blocked up and the blocking plastered over, so that we did not recognize the full width of the opening until the edge of the paved sill appeared projecting a little beneath the blocking (Fig. 31). The arrangement of the room behind was extremely puzzling, for parallel to the north wall of the antecella and only about half a meter behind it ran another wall of equal thickness. It will later be seen that the second wall dates from the time of the next builder, Nurahum. It was not until this second wall had been completely removed that we were able to trace the shape of the cella and examine its appointments. We then found that the plan corresponded in many details to that of the cella in the Gimilsin Temple. Both pivot stones were in place, but they were smaller and rougher stones than those used in the state temple. The eastern stone was laid a little deeper than the western and was apparently in secondary use, as it had a second pivot hole on the under side. In precisely the same position as the reed screen in the Gimilsin Temple there was a narrow wall, one brick thick, stretching as far as the steps leading up to the niche (Fig. 32). The steps were paved with baked bricks and covered with bitumen, but had later been much quarried away. However, sufficient re-

mained for us to recognize two steps, a wide one (appearing at the right in Fig. 32) and a narrow one. Sixty centimeters above the latter a single brick remained, indicating that the paved floor of the niche had been at this height (Pl. VIII, CC). The niche was recessed about 40 cm.

In front of the lowest step and not quite in the center we found a small pottery drainpipe (Fig. 33), similar to that already described in our discussion of the Gimilsin Temple (see p. 16), and fragments of the jar into which it presumably flowed. The drain had been laid on a small tumulus covered with bitumen, so that its mouth came level with the lowest step; there was no inverted basin as in the Gimilsin Temple, but at the eastern end of the room we found the broken rim and other small fragments of a large bowl (seen in the foreground of Fig. 32) which, when in place, may have served the same purpose.

As in the state temple, there is a small room opening off the cella, this time to the northeast (M 31:15). This probably served as a sacristy.

THE RECONSTRUCTION BY NURAHUM

In the whole of the earliest construction, throughout the temple, the palace, and the palace chapel, not a single brick was found bearing an inscription; the buildings could therefore be linked with Ituria and Ilushuilia only by inscriptions found on the pivot stones (bldg. inscr. No. 1; see also pp. 9 and 16) and on the broken sealing of a jar (seal legend No. 8; see also p. 32). In the next reign, however, that of Nurahum, the reconstruction and alterations (in red, Pl. II) are almost always easily recognizable by paving bricks inscribed with Nurahum's name and also by certain peculiar methods of construction and renovation.

Nurahum's accession to the local rulership must have occurred very soon after the conflagration (see p. 16) which had destroyed the northwestern corner of the Gimilsin Temple; for in his time the plan of the temple remained unaltered except in the case of the northwest room (O 30:8). There the walls had evidently been demolished and the room filled with debris to a height of about 1 meter above the floor. Over this area Nurahum built two new rooms, O 30:8 and 21, the latter divided into two parts by a thin wall. These rooms did not follow the original plan but formed a new communication between the palace and the temple through O 30:19 and O 31:5. A doorway in the northern wall of the western division of O 30:21 led outside the building.

In rebuilding the palace Nurahum retained the original plan with only minor alterations; in the palace chapel, however, he made drastic changes. The entire palace chapel was evidently razed to the ground, since the walls in many cases remained standing only a few centimeters high. Nurahum rebuilt the southerly wall, made alterations in the plan of many of the rooms, and blocked up the cella doorway. Furthermore, he built right across the cella and the room at each end of it a substantial wall (Pl. VIII, CC) which, unless it served as a retaining wall necessitated by the rising level of the ground behind, can only have been calculated to prevent the cella from being re-used as such. At present we have no clue to the name of the god previously worshiped in this shrine, but the efforts of Nurahum to destroy all evidence of its function seem unmistakable, and it seems likely that its patron had fallen into disrepute.

The old entrance to the chapel from the street, in M 32, was retained. A noticeable point was the considerable thickening of the street wall as rebuilt by Nurahum. It is not quite clear whether the new floor level was above or below that of the street, since all that is left of the doorsill is a few broken fragments of baked bricks still in position and, beneath these, one broken section of a pottery drain. In the entrance vestibule, M 32:16, the first drastic change of plan is apparent; for there was no longer a doorway opposite the entrance, leading into the court beyond, but to reach the court one had to pass through a small room, M 32:5, to the

east. The west end of the vestibule was cut off by a narrow wall, set askew, forming a separate room entered from the court.

These walls were extremely difficult to trace, because later this whole area remained an open courtyard for a long period, and the walls beneath probably became disintegrated by the damp



FIG. 34.—PAVEMENT IN O 31:9 OF BRICKS INSCRIBED WITH NURAHUM'S NAME, SEEN FROM O 31:8

continually soaking through from above. In the central area north of these rooms there were no walls dating from the Nurahum period. During this period (see red plan in Pl. II) the extensive open court was bounded on the south by the walls of the entrance vestibule and adjoining rooms and on the west by a new wall built just inside the old southwest wall of the

court and antecella, which had probably been too much dilapidated to be worth rebuilding. The north wall was the rebuilt wall of the cella with its central doorway blocked up and plastered over, hiding the rebates on either side (Fig. 31). On the east the eastern wall of the old room M 32:18 was rebuilt, blocking the doorway at the southerly end; of the northerly extension of this wall in Ilushuilia's building (between M 32:19 and M 31:21) we found no trace in the Nurahum structure. The doorway in the southwest corner of the court, already mentioned, had a pivot stone in position on the north side; and adjoining this doorway were several large paving bricks probably pillaged from the earlier building, as they were uninscribed. There were



FIG. 35.—NORTHWEST CORNER OF O 31:8 AT NURAHUM LEVEL, SHOWING THREE STEPS IN DOORWAY TO O 31:5, ONE STEP IN DOORWAY TO N 31:10, AND THE BILALAMA FLOOR LEVEL IN N 31:10 (MARKED *a*); SEEN FROM EAST

two projections into the court, one from the southwest wall and one from the northwest wall, the significance of which is not clear.

The three rooms lying to the west of the court, M 32:12-13 and L 32:4, were simply rooms of the earlier building re-used. They now communicated with one another but not with the other rooms in the building. They were entered from the west by a new doorway in the northwest corner of M 32:13. Outside this doorway was what appeared to be a tiny vestibule with the remains of brick paving and, to the south, a row of unbroken bricks which might have been a step. There was also a new doorway leading west from the southernmost of the three rooms (M 32:12), and near by a new wall butted against the old chapel wall on the outside. All this suggests that at this period the building perhaps extended beyond the present limits of our group. In M 32:12 we found the group of tablets mentioned above (p. 39), most of which proved to belong to a private archive dated to the reign of Nurahum.

The vestibule between the old palace chapel and the palace, M 32:11, was now connected by a doorway with its northern neighbor, M 32:20.

In the palace itself the street wall was thickened somewhat, though less noticeably than the southeast wall of the chapel. The old entrance at the east end of the façade was re-used. The

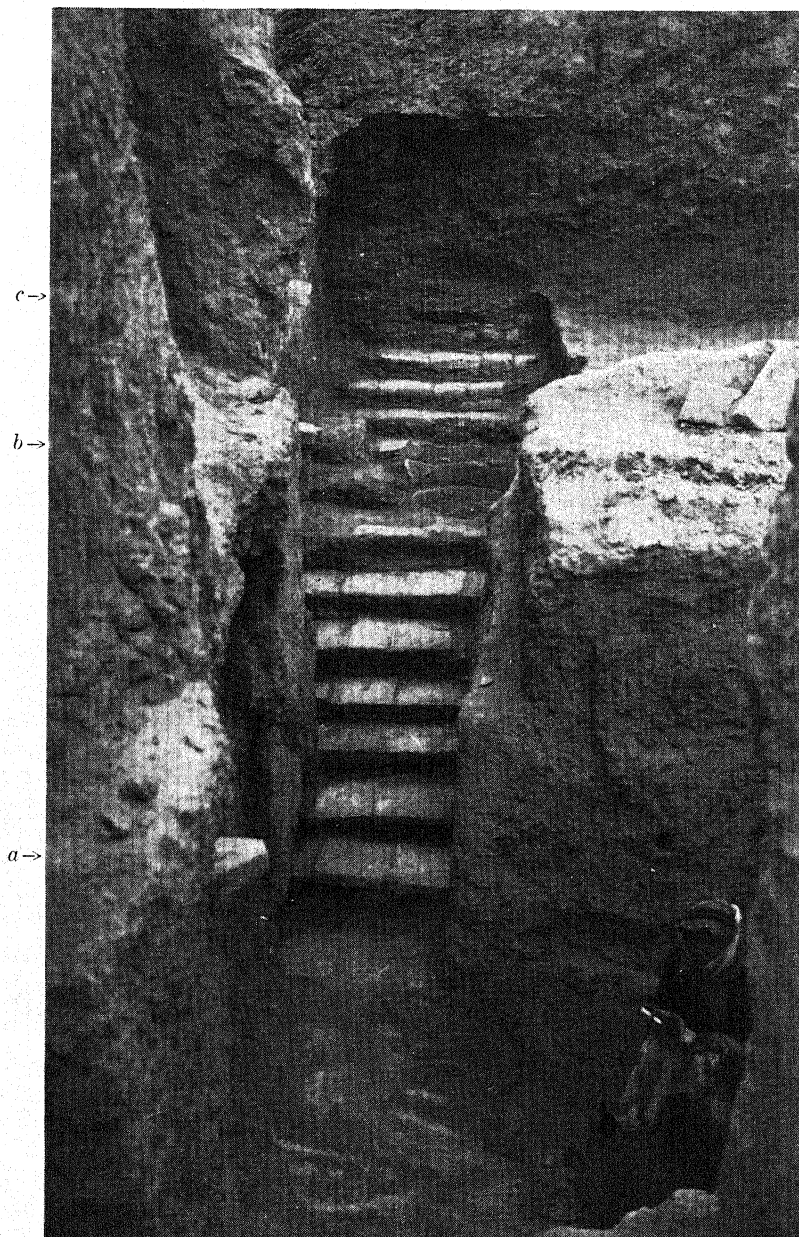


FIG. 36.—STAIRWAY IN M 30:3 OF NURAHUM'S PALACE, SHOWING IN WALL AT LEFT THREE PIVOT STONES OF THE BILALAMA PERIOD; SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

entrance vestibule, N 31:1, now had an eastern doorway with a paved sill leading to the small adjoining room (O 31:9), and it was in the latter that we first found a pavement of fine unbroken inscribed bricks bearing Nurahum's name (Fig. 34). The doorway leading east from this was paved with bricks still covered with a thick coat of bitumen, the pavement sloping

down sharply into room O 31:8, one of the irregularly shaped rooms between the palace and the temple. Room O 31:8 had a new doorway to the north (Fig. 35) in which we found a flight of three steps, evidently necessitated by the fact that the floor of the rooms beyond (O 31:5 and O 30:19) had risen considerably in level after the fire. There was also a single step in the doorway into N 31:10. North of this doorway a strong wall was built up against the east wall of the Great Hall (N 30:3), blocking up one of the doorways of the latter. Whether this wall was built in order to facilitate the roofing of the rooms to the east without putting additional strain on the wall of the Great Hall, or for some other purpose, it is difficult to say. It was never repeated in later rebuildings. The two new rooms built by Nurahum over the ruined northwest corner of the temple have already been mentioned (p. 42).

Another interesting alteration made in this reign was that of the stairway north of the Throneroom. Here we found an impressive new flight of paved steps (Fig. 36) starting in the doorway between N 30:7 and M 30:3 and ending abruptly against the northwest wall (cf. p. 55). If the earlier staircase (as we suppose) led to the roof, that exit had now been abolished; the new flight plainly had its destination behind our building, somewhere to the north. Beyond the northwest wall we discovered two parallel walls continuing northwest in the form of a passage, M 30:4. The easterly wall of this passage was traced some distance and then found to have had a doorway connecting it with a second passage leading northeast. Further exploration here, we considered, was beyond the scope of our present investigations, but we concluded from the direction of the stairs and the passageways that any contemporary buildings to the north are likely to be found at a higher level (cf. p. 47).

The room southeast of the staircase, N 30:7, was now divided into two parts. The eastern end was paved with Nurahum bricks and had a narrow opening in the southeast corner leading askew into room N 30:8, adjoining diagonally. This bears out our theory that places of ablution were provided in the vicinity of main entrances, for there was now a new approach to the palace from the north through M 30:4 and 3. The southwest wall of N 30:7 showed one of many instances of a building method peculiar to Nurahum. The base of the wall was repaired or protected by a sort of skirting of bricks on end, as opposed to the normal usage of bricks laid horizontally (cf. p. 39). In this case they were sun-dried bricks, but in other cases baked bricks were used (e.g. in M 32:16, west wall, and N 31:1, south wall).

The western staircase in M 31:18 does not seem to have been used by Nurahum, for a wall was built across the L-shaped room M 31:17 making the stairway inaccessible. This may be explained by the fact that M 31:17 was now the approach to the private suite, its original approach through M 31:8 having been walled off.

This concludes a summary of the somewhat perverse alterations to the plan made in the time of Nurahum.

THE ENLARGED PALACE OF BILALAMA

The successor to Nurahum in our list of kings is Kirikiri, but it has not been possible to associate any of the reconstructions of this group of buildings with his name. The next ruler after Nurahum to leave traces of architectural activity was Bilalama, the son of Kirikiri, who completely rebuilt the palace and also made considerable extensions to it. It has been found possible to make very complete and accurate plans of these buildings as they appeared from their completion by Bilalama until their destruction by a subsequent fire (Pls. III–IV); for in one of the reigns immediately succeeding that of Bilalama, probably that of Isharramashu, there occurred a great conflagration—the second in the history of these buildings—which destroyed the entire group of buildings, including those parts of Ituria's state temple which were still in use. It seems likely that this fire occurred in Isharramashu's reign at the time of

the sacking of the town by some neighboring state. While this must have been a great disaster, it was advantageous from the excavators' point of view, since it made the tracing and recognition of these buildings comparatively easy. Everywhere the walls and plaster faces in rooms of this period were baked to a hard consistency and a deep red color, and the rooms themselves were filled to a varying depth with ashes and burnt rubbish, all bearing witness to the intense heat and the universally destructive nature of the conflagration, and at the same time guiding the excavator in his effort to reconstruct the plans of these buildings for the period under discussion.

It will be recalled (see p. 42) that, after the first fire, Nurahum had rebuilt the damaged northwest corner of the Gimilsin Temple and left the rest unaltered, though the fire had put an end to the sacred function of the building.¹⁰ Bilalama went further. He apparently decided to incorporate as much of the temple as remained standing in his new palace. The rooms which could be utilized without alteration of ground plan, he retained. The remainder, including the irregularly shaped rooms between the two buildings, he razed, thus establishing for them a new level. Over the area thus made available he proceeded to erect a series of new rooms, each of which probably had its particular function and added considerably to the convenient arrangement of the building.

The palace proper Bilalama rebuilt very much as it had been before. However, the area to the west of it, the site of the now forgotten palace chapel, showed a complicated and interesting rearrangement. Bilalama apparently found the old arrangement of the private suite inadequate and determined to build a new and more extensive one to the northwest. This proved impracticable at the existing floor level, apparently owing to the substantial walls built by Nurahum in this area and also to the accumulated ruins of previous buildings behind them. He therefore reinforced the old south and east walls of the former cella so that they could serve as retaining walls and filled in behind them and leveled out a considerable area at a height of about 2 meters above the existing floor (Pl. IV). Upon this new level he built a new suite of apartments to which he obtained access by the old flight of paved steps (M 31:18) which dated from the earliest foundation and was conveniently situated. Plates III-IV show that he extended the building a considerable distance to the north. Here again we have evidence that buildings north of our group are likely to be found at a higher level (cf. pp. 42, 46, and 49); in fact, this new wing of the Bilalama palace came very near the surface of the tell.

The open courtyard (M 32:15) west of the palace court was enlarged and maintained at a more or less uniform level; but this evidently necessitated a retaining wall on the west side, as the ground beyond (in M 32:13) sloped sharply up from the street level to that of the higher Bilalama rooms.

The easternmost entrance to the palace was now through the portal of the former state temple. The decorated towers adjoining the entrance must at some previous time have been partially demolished, for the one to the east was now scarcely more than a buttress, while its western neighbor had been rebuilt with a greater projection than it had originally, thus making the arrangement of the entrance asymmetrical (Fig. 37). The western tower had at its base a curious pair of low mud-brick steps, whereas the platform in front of the eastern tower had been repaired and enlarged. Both steps and platform must have been used by loiterers as a convenient place to sit round the entrance, for the corners and surfaces were worn smooth in the process. On the burnt floor in the entrance doorway was a great quantity of burnt wood, including one charred scantling, comparatively intact, lying crosswise. It seems that this may have formed part of a wooden door, for a small pivot stone, evidently used at this period, was

¹⁰ [In any case the purpose for which the temple had been built, viz. the worship of the deified King of Ur, was no longer consonant with the political situation.—H. F.]

in place just inside the eastern jamb of the doorway. The entrance vestibule (P 31:1) showed little change from the previous occupation. Many tablets were found in this room below the floor level of Bilalama's building, some as low as the earliest floor. These tablets seem to belong to the period from Nurahum to Bilalama. The room to the east (P 31:2) has already been described in detail (see pp. 26 f.) in connection with the staircase which it contained at this time but which may have been built in the previous period.

From the central court two new doorways, one at each end of the westerly wall (Fig. 9), led to rooms to the west, the great western doorway of the old court having been blocked up and built over. There was a rough pavement in the middle of the court, made of fragments of baked bricks and the broken bottoms of pottery cisterns; it marked the floor level at this

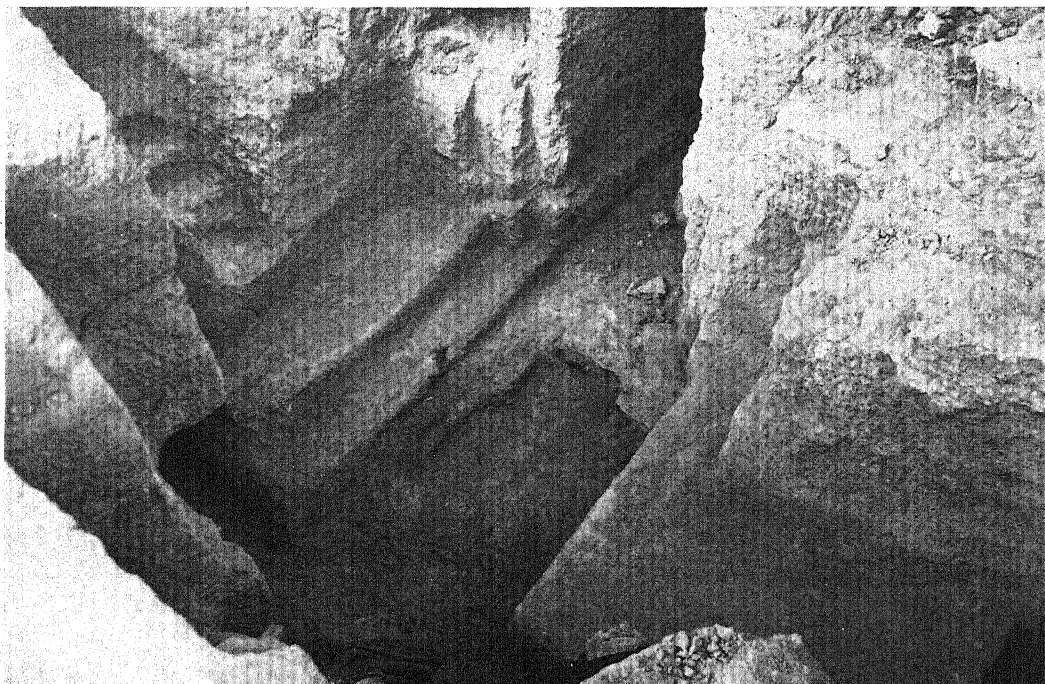


FIG. 37.—FORMER TEMPLE ENTRANCE, SHOWING ASYMMETRICAL CONSTRUCTION IN BILALAMA PERIOD; SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

period, which was easily recognizable by the layer of ashes lying upon it. Beneath the pavement were two deep vertical drains (Fig. 20; cf. p. 25), each consisting of a series of large pottery units placed one upon another. The court must have sloped down toward these, since the northwest doorway (Pl. VIII, section *BB*) shows that the floor level of the neighboring rooms was in some cases a good deal above that of the court. The blocking in the old cella doorway (p. 16 and Fig. 11) probably dates from this period, as the thickness of the blocking was the same as that of the new wall, which was thinner than the old in order to increase the size of the room, the former cella (O 30:18). Room P 30:4 to the east of the cella and the court was burnt scarcely at all, but the Bilalama floor level was marked by an irregular pavement at the north end. However, in P 30:3, the room south of this, which had before contained the problematical vaulted structure, there was again a burnt floor at this level.

In the new rooms west of the court and the former cella the floors rose considerably to the north but were otherwise fairly uniform and consistently covered with burnt debris. In the northernmost of these (O 30:8) the three epochs already referred to could be very clearly

differentiated. Far beneath was the north end of the "sacristy" of Ituria's temple (marked *a* in Fig. 38), with its doorway leading east into the cella (behind the boy in Fig. 38; cf. Pl. II). Above this was the Nurahum room, spreading north, east, and west over about half the thickness of the walls of the old temple and having its south wall (marked *b* in Fig. 38) built across the middle of the old sacristy. About a meter above this was the floor level marking the reoccupation of the room by Bilalama, and from here upward the walls (marked *c* in Fig. 38) had the familiar burnt appearance associated with his structures. A doorway in the north wall

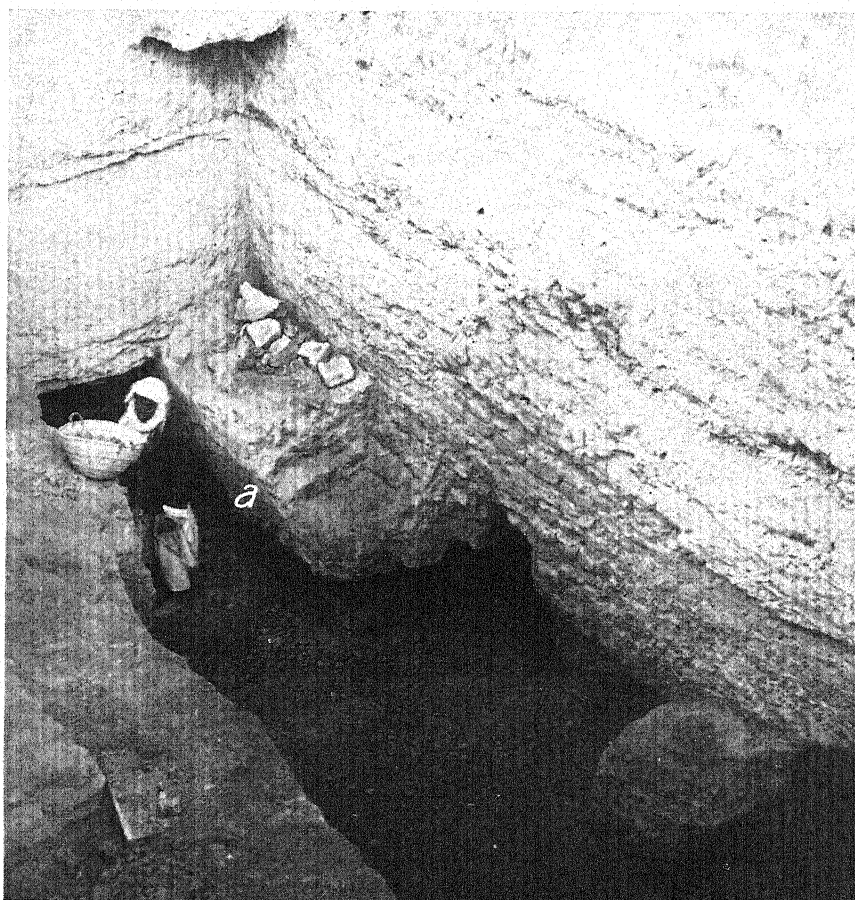


FIG. 38.—ROOM O 30:8, SHOWING LEVELS OF ITURIA (*a*), NURAHUM (*b*), AND BILALAMA (*c*); SEEN FROM WEST

of this room led outside the building. This doorway was partially blocked up, apparently as an afterthought; but an opening was left leading to a narrow passage beyond, which could be traced for some distance to the north by a thin, burnt wall on either side. This room and that adjoining it to the west (O 30:21) seem to have formed a unit accessible through this passage and doorway only. Room O 30:21 was roughly divided into two parts by a thin wall built a little askew, and the easterly half was paved regularly with inscribed bricks of a typical Bilalama size.

Of the rooms to the south of this there was one (O 30:10) which gave rise to considerable speculation. While this room had an undoubted doorway in its southerly wall, there appeared to be another in its northerly wall. Further examination, however, revealed that the sill of the opening in the northerly wall was about a meter above the floor and that a plastered surface

extended from the sill down to the floor. This plaster had been burned red and was exactly uniform, in appearance and consistency, with that covering the jambs of the opening above it. There was similar plastering between the sill and the floor on the north face of the wall also. Hence we concluded that this was a window or an opening serving a similar purpose and that the room was in reality a light well, though there was no pavement or drain to bear out this theory. Yet without assuming something of this nature it is difficult to understand how a group of small rooms like those under discussion obtained light. It was hoped that we should find the arch or lintel which spanned our "window," but this proved impossible because the walls of the room were not left standing to a sufficient height.

The small new room (O 30:16) communicating with the old cella (O 30:18) offered another problem. Here the floor sloped sharply up toward the east, and in the thickness of the wall there was a paved ramp, leading up into the old cella. The burnt faces of the jambs on either side could not be traced below the surface of the ramp, and we therefore concluded that the ramp was part of the burnt palace of the Bilalama period.

This meant that a portion of the floor of the former cella must at this period have been level with the top of the ramp. At the same time the level of O 30:18 was considerably above the bases of the two kilns which were found in this room, suggesting that these were of an earlier date. However, by tracing the plaster wall faces which showed signs of the Isharramashu conflagration, particularly that of the south wall, which had been rebuilt by Bilalama, we found that these were associated with an ash-strewn floor which dipped toward the center of the room and there coincided with the floor upon which the kilns were built (see Pl. VIII, section *BB*). We therefore concluded that the kilns had been built in a pit or depression. From their detailed description below it will be seen that this would be a convenient arrangement, particularly for providing easy access to the chamber on the top of the larger kiln, which stood as much as 2 meters high. In both cases sufficient evidence was left to enable us to make a fairly complete reconstruction (see Pls. X–XI). It has, however, been possible only to speculate as to the actual purpose of either kiln.

The larger of the kilns (Pl. X) was situated at the east end of the room about halfway between the north and south walls (Fig. 12). It was oval in shape and, when found, consisted of a raised platform with a vaulted tunnel beneath it (Figs. 39–40). This vaulting was constructed with extreme ingenuity. It consisted of four separate arches, between which were three transverse slots (see Pl. X, sectional perspective) arched in the opposite direction, thus forming shallow recesses at the bottom, which deepened toward the top into curved ducts terminating in six apertures in the floor of the platform above. In the center of the platform was a small rectangular area slightly raised above the rest of the platform and surrounded by the broken remains of a thin wall. There were also remains of a somewhat thicker wall at the edge of the platform, and between the two were the stumps of rectangular vertical supports, so arranged that there must altogether have been eight. All these inner parts had plastered surfaces, and in all cases these were burnt extremely hard and smooth. At one end of the tunnel the outer vertical face of the last arch was plastered, and the side of the tunnel continued beyond the outer wall of the oval. This definitely indicated that at the end of the tunnel a square vertical shaft had existed (marked *a* in Fig. 39) which rose above the platform and probably still higher and served as a flue or an outlet for the smoke (cf. Pl. X, plan and long section).

It seems clear that the fire was made in the tunnel (Fig. 40) and that by means of the vertical shaft and the six small ducts (e.g. *c* and *c'* in Fig. 39) the heat was drawn up above the platform, where it circulated around the small rectangular area in the center (marked *b* in Fig. 39). Hence the latter could only have been the floor of an inclosed chamber in which something was

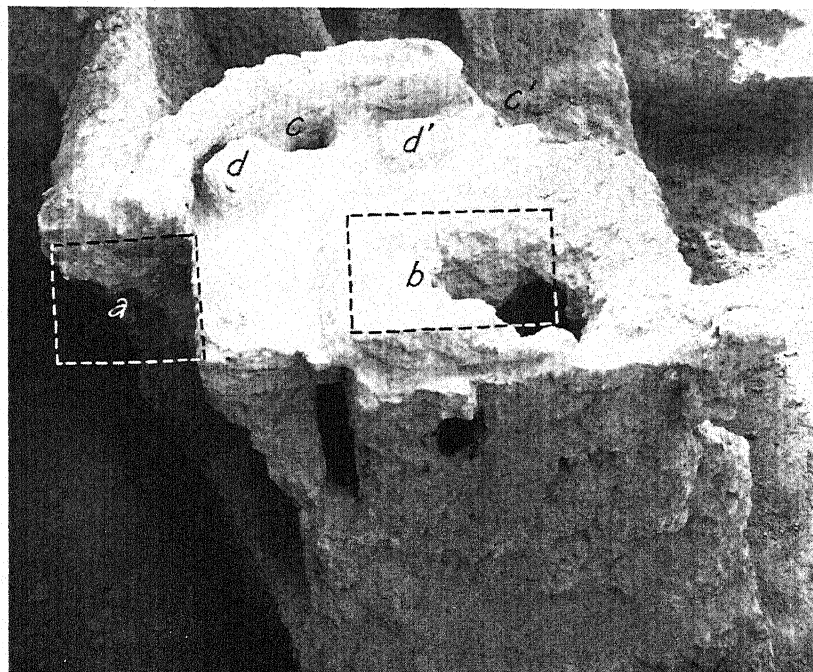


FIG. 39.—LARGER KILN OF BILALAMA LEVEL IN O 30:18, SEEN FROM NORTH



FIG. 40.—VAULTED TUNNEL OF LARGER KILN IN O 30:18, SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

intended to be baked and upon which all the heat was therefore concentrated. The small rectangular pillars of which only stumps remained (e.g. *d* and *d'* in Fig. 39) had evidently served as supports for the inclosing roof. In our reconstruction (Pl. X) we have suggested that the top of the central chamber was closed during baking with one of the rough earthenware lids of which we found a considerable number in the room. The purpose of the kiln is uncertain; but very small deposits of copper in two places on the floor of the chamber suggest that it may have been a smelting furnace.¹¹

The smaller kiln (Pl. XI) was built into the niche of the old sanctuary (Fig. 18; cf. Fig. 56). It did not quite fill the niche and was placed at one side. Of this kiln less remained intact than of the larger one, but it appeared to be equally ingeniously and skilfully constructed. It had two parallel tunnels with splayed sides, bridged by a series of narrow flat-topped arches about their own width apart (Fig. 41 and Pl. XI, perspective). Resting on these "bridges" were the lowest courses of the walls of what must have been two upper tunnels directly above. Each of the lower arches was constructed with two specially shaped bricks (cf. Pl. XI, cross-

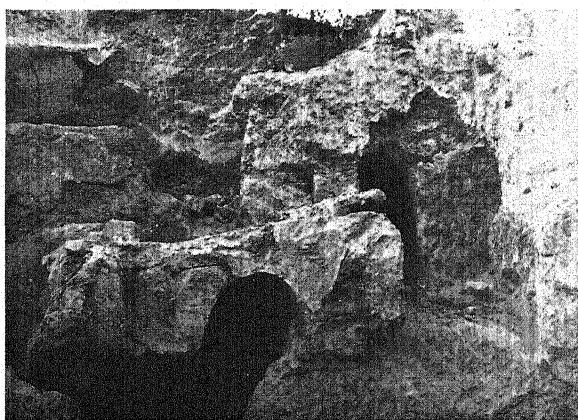


FIG. 41.—SMALLER KILN, BUILT IN FORMER CULT NICHE IN O 30:18, SEEN FROM SOUTH

section) meeting in the middle and covered with plaster burnt hard. All the other faces had similar plaster. The fire had evidently burned in the lower tunnels, the heat rising between the arches to the upper tunnels. There were four pairs of arches left standing, and the outer shell still projected some way beyond them. We have therefore reconstructed the kiln to the minimum depth it could have had. The convenient grill formed by the lower arches and the size of the upper tunnels strongly suggest that in this case the baking of pots was the purpose of the structure, in which case the ends of the upper tunnels would probably be bricked up during firing (cf. Pl. XI, elevation).

When the smaller kiln was removed from the niche it was found that the center of the upper step had been pierced by a shaft or pit. This was undoubtedly open early in Bilalama's reign (cf. p. 147); but the date when it was sunk and its purpose are still uncertain (cf. p. 22). A vertical drain in the northeast corner of the room seems to have been sunk in Bilalama's time; in the packing around the drain were found many fragments of clay figurines (cf. p. 16).

The direct connection between the old temple court and the palace proper was still through O 30:12. To the south of this room lay O 31:2, which had a pavement and drain at its eastern end and was apparently intended for performing ablutions (cf. p. 16). In the western wall of O 30:12 a doorway with curiously carved jambs led askew into O 31:5, now much larger than in earlier structures. To the south of O 31:5 was a small irregularly shaped room (O 31:8) which was partially paved with regularly laid inscribed bricks bearing Bilalama's name and which had a drain. In the southwest corner of the pavement were the remains of a small raised platform, built of similar bricks, and a large jar which had evidently rested upon or beneath it. The pavement must have been laid in the latter part of Bilalama's reign or under his successor Isharramashu, for directly beneath it we found a fine cache of comparatively unbroken tablets, consisting mostly of letters to Bilalama.¹² The small paved room (O 31:9) which had previously existed southwest of O 31:8 had disappeared, and O 31:8 was now sepa-

¹¹ See *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 13.

¹² These will be discussed elsewhere.

rated from the entrance vestibule of the palace (N 31:1) by about 3 meters of wall. In the thickness of this wall we found a large quantity of broken baked bricks and a vertical pottery pipe which must have been connected with a system of drainage.

The original palace entrance into vestibule N 31:1 was still in use (cf. p. 30). The door-jambs were now deeply rebated, and the threshold was paved with baked bricks, some inscribed. Two steps now led up instead of down (*c* in Fig. 21) and, when uncovered, still retained their coating of bitumen. To the east of the doorway (in O 31:1) we traced a narrow paving of baked bricks along the base of the wall as far as the corner, interrupted only by one of the large earthenware cisterns which we suppose to have been intended for rain water and which in this case was partly recessed into the wall. To the west we traced a similar pavement (marked *c'* in Fig. 21) for about 5 meters; but some distance beyond this it must have stopped, for on penetrating to this depth at the west end of the palace façade (in N 32) we found only a roughly constructed brick channel running along the base of the wall. This channel appeared again in front of the old chapel doorway (in M 32), and from there we traced it about 4 meters west, where it seemed to turn north into the thickness of the wall. It is tempting to think that it was connected with the similar channel skirting the west wall of the high-level Bilalama rooms (in L 31-32; see Fig. 50 and Pl. III), though this was composed of specially made pottery units and at one point ran above a bitumen-covered pavement of Bilalama bricks.

Returning to the palace entrance, we note that the outside pavement on either side was composed of bricks which in some cases were stamped with the name of Bilalama. A few centimeters above these bricks a second pavement of trodden earth occurred; and it was at this level, probably dating from the succeeding reign, that the great fire took place (cf. p. 58).

The entrance vestibule, N 31:1, showed a partial thickening of the northerly wall, and in the northwest corner, where a curious recess was formed, the characteristic "skirting" of the previous Nurahum occupation disappeared behind the Bilalama wall. Just beyond the doorway into the adjoining room, N 31:2, there was a hole broken through the northerly wall. This was an irregular affair and definitely not a doorway. It led to room N 31:10 and thence to the Great Hall; it was probably used as a short cut to the latter, for it will be seen from Plate III that the method of entering the building from the street was still just as characteristically roundabout—through N 31:3 and M 32:10—as it had been in the original plan. The ablution pavement in M 32:10 had now disappeared, but in the northwest corner of the second long entrance gallery (N 31:3) there was a very small basin of broken bricks draining into a large jar beneath. The doorway from N 31:3 to M 32:10, adjoining which there was a pivot stone at this level, recurred at three different building levels, and it will be seen (Fig. 42) that when fully excavated these levels were very clearly defined. There was now no entrance from the west at this point, and the two small rooms M 32:11 and M 32:20, which flanked the palace court and M 32:10, were shut off from the outer court (M 32:15) by a new wall strengthened on the outside by a row of five small buttresses (Pl. III).

Room M 32:11 affords a good illustration of the difficulties which we encountered in disentangling the walls belonging to various periods. Here, as in many other cases throughout the buildings, there occurred a thin white line (*a* in Fig. 43) separating the walls belonging to two different periods. This phenomenon is due to an ancient building method by which, before starting to rebuild, the ruins of previous buildings would be leveled and spread with reed mats in order to provide an even foundation. In M 32:11 we were able to assign the brickwork between two of these white mat layers to the time of Bilalama. Figure 43 shows only the lower of these white layers, the upper one (at *b*) being hidden under the lowest course of bricks of the wall above. The south and west walls of M 32:11 in the Bilalama building remained standing to the height of only a few centimeters. In both cases this was due to the fact that the founda-

tion mats of a much later building had been laid in a deep trench only a few centimeters above those of the Bilalama period (cf. p. 66). We shall presently see how this habit of sinking foundations into the earlier strata, developed during the later rebuildings, greatly complicated our reconstruction of the earlier buildings (cf. pp. 60 and 76).



FIG. 42.—DOORWAY BETWEEN M 32:10 AND N 31:3, SHOWING THE LEVELS OF ILUSHULIA AND NURAHUM (*a*), OF BILALAMA (*b*), AND OF URNINMAR (*c*); SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

The central court (M 31:1) will be seen to be a vertical repetition of the earlier one. There was a narrow pavement of baked bricks all around at the base of the Bilalama walls (Fig. 24), a wide central doorway led to the Throneroom, and smaller doorways near the corners communicated with various suites. It was evidently through the northeasterly doorway that the higher-level rooms of the private suite were approached; for after passing through a series of anterooms (M 31:17, 19, and 20) one arrived at the foot of the ancient staircase in M 31:18, which was now in use again. The mass of brickwork of which this staircase was composed

ended abruptly in a clean vertical wall face a short way beyond the highest step found; but this does not refute the theory that it was used in connection with the high-level Bilalama rooms, for the walls of these rooms would have their foundations very little below their floor level, and they have consequently been very much obliterated by the activities of later builders. Another strong argument in favor of this approach to the private suite from the central court is the fact that M 31:17, the first of the anterooms, had a place for ablutions inside the entrance—an irregular pavement, with a drain beneath it. The pavement had spread through

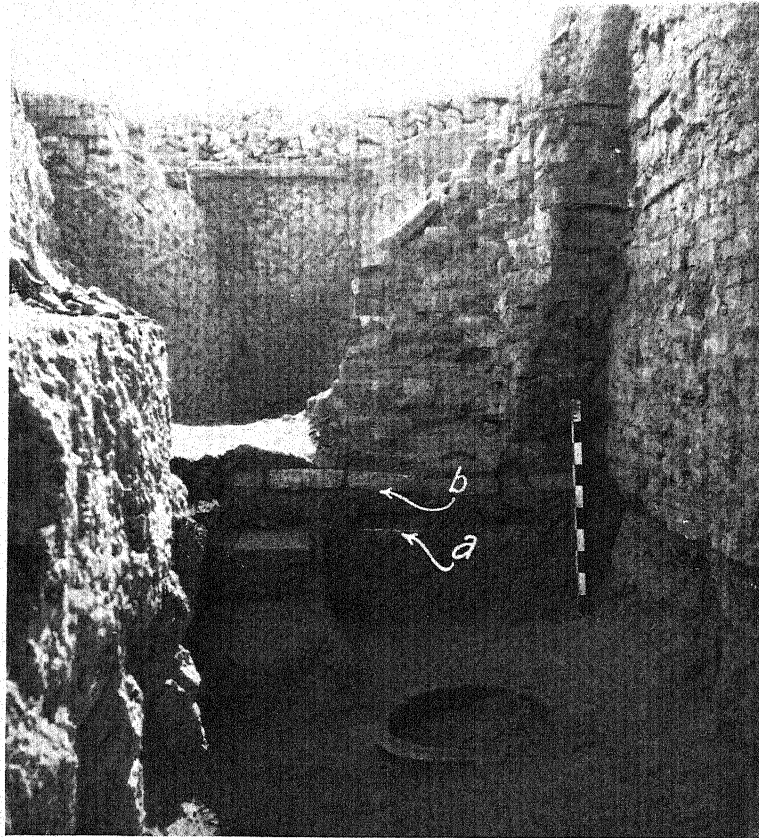


FIG. 43.—SOUTHEASTERN WALL OF M 32:11, SHOWING REMAINS OF BILALAMA WALL BETWEEN *a* AND *b*; SEEN FROM NORTHWEST

the west doorway into the room beyond, where similar paving bricks were found at the east end of M 31:19.

The area northwest of the Throneroom, the site of the easternmost of the two ancient palace staircases, showed an interesting piece of replanning. The northern doorway of the Throneroom led to a small vestibule, N 30:7, from which a second doorway led north into the old staircase compartment (M 30:3), whence a third led west into the open. Each of these doorways had a pivot stone in place (*a*, *b*, and *c* in Fig. 44; cf. Fig. 36), and it can clearly be seen from their respective levels that in Bilalama's building there must have been a steep ramp running up toward the north at this point, taking the place of the old Nurahum staircase, which was buried when the northwest wall was set across it (Fig. 45). Level with the top of the ramp a doorway now led eastward into a new room, N 30:12, completely and regularly

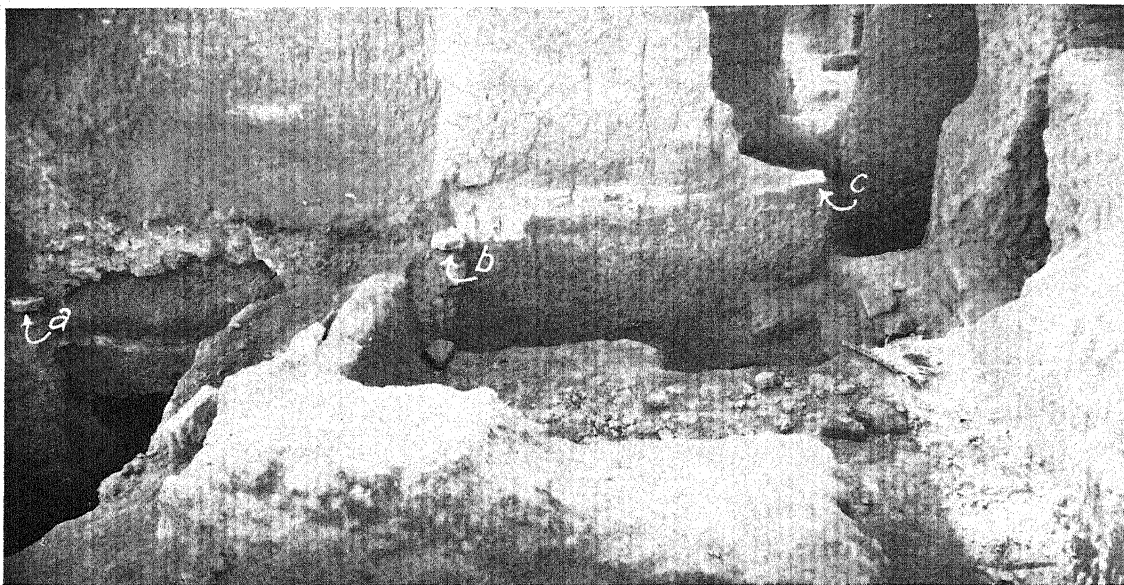


FIG. 44.—SOUTHWESTERLY WALL OF M 30:3, WITH LINE OF RAMP INDICATED BY PIVOT STONES *a* TO *c*, SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

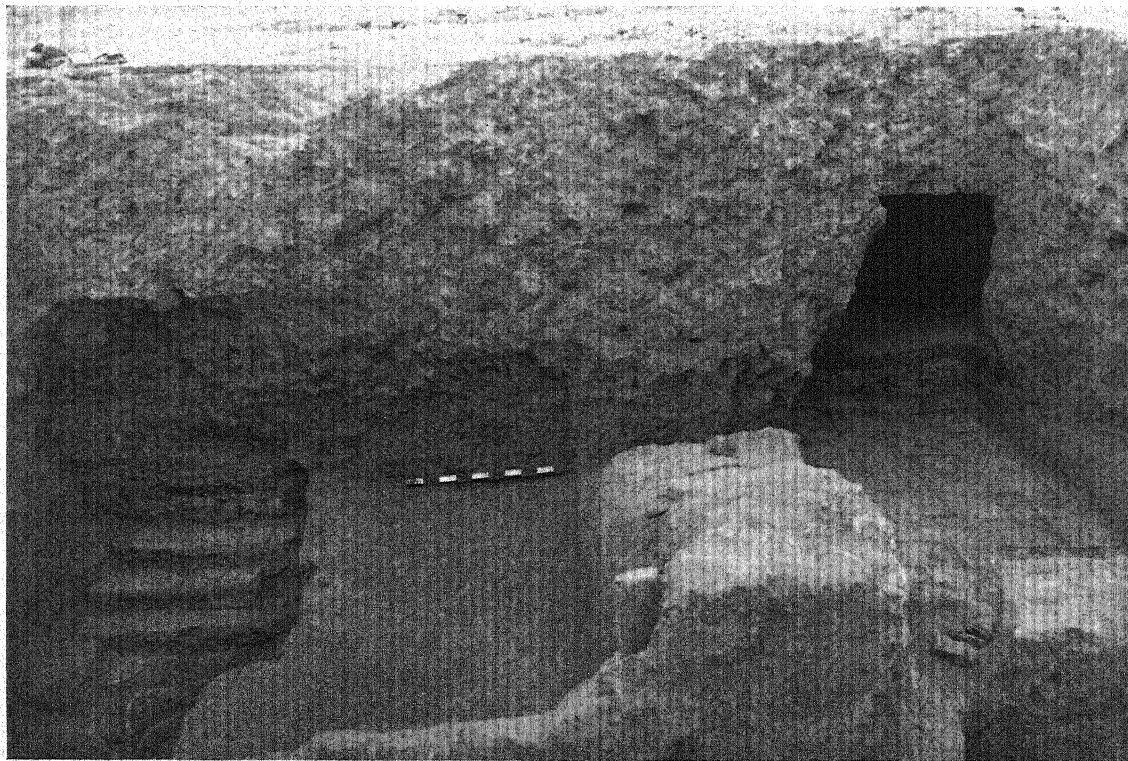


FIG. 45.—NORTHWEST WALL OF M 30:3 AND N 30:12, NURAHUM STAIRWAY BENEATH BILALAMA FLOOR IN M 30:3, AND BILALAMA PAVEMENT IN N 30:12; SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

paved with Bilalama bricks and having a drain near the northeast corner (Figs. 45 and 46). The walls, so far as they could be traced, had a "skirting" or revetment of baked bricks, which seems to point to the room's having had some special function. Figure 46 shows this revetment; the foundation of a later building is seen beyond the tunnel (cf. p. 68). The southerly wall of N 30:12 was a notably thin one; beyond it, at the lower level, a long narrow gallery

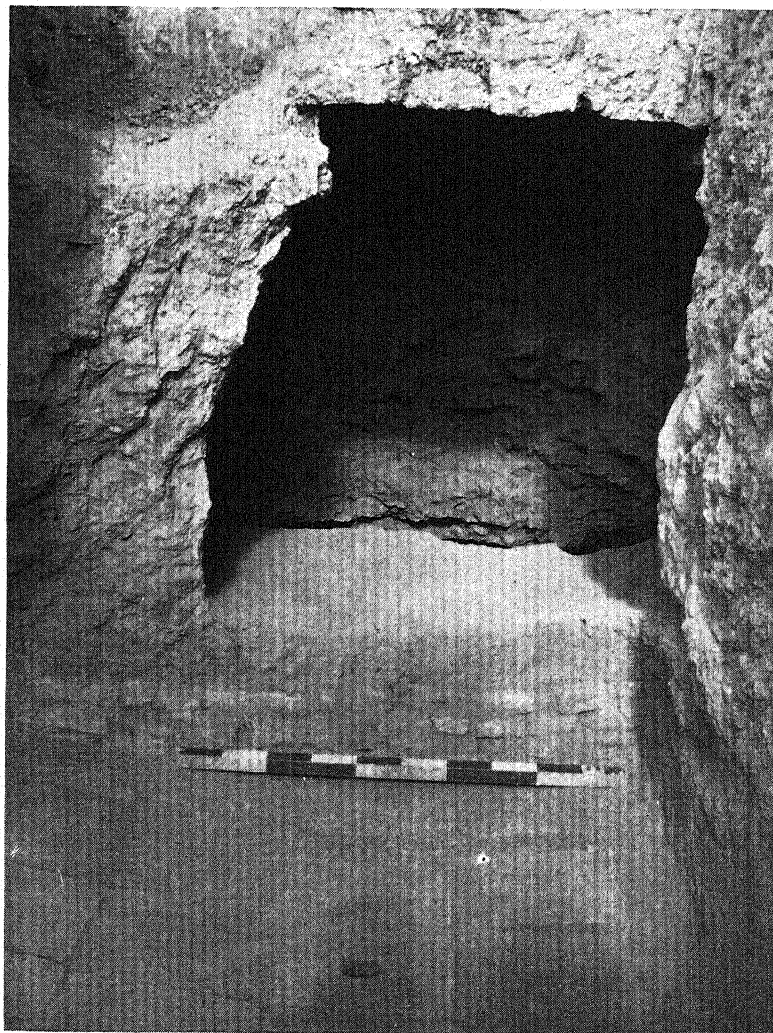


FIG. 46.—PAVED ROOM N 30:12, SHOWING REVETMENT OF NORTHWESTERN WALL AND, BEYOND THE TUNNEL, AN IBIQADAD II FOOTING

(N 30:8) ran behind the Throneroom, making the latter accessible both through N 30:7 and through N 31:11. From this gallery too the Great Hall could be reached directly, at the northwest end, or through N 31:11.

Like the central court, the Great Hall (N 30:3) also must have been merely a reconstruction of the earlier one. There were two rooms to the north as before, N 30:11 and N 30:9. A doorway in the northeast corner of the Great Hall led into a small vestibule, N 30:2. The doorway connecting this with the room north of it, N 30:10, had now been given up, leaving the room without a discernible means of approach. This may account for the fact that its wall faces, though plastered, were not burnt like all the others in this building. From N 30:2 one passed

through a long gallery (N 30:1) to the group of rooms already described as being built over the northwest corner of the old temple (cf. pp. 47–50).

South of the Great Hall, as already mentioned, was a long rectangular room, N 31:10 (Fig. 47), which at some time had been used as part of a short cut from the street entrance. This room was paved regularly with baked bricks bearing a ten-line inscription (bldg. inser. No. 4) referring to the building of Esikil, the temple dedicated to Tishpak, by Bilalama; they had therefore evidently been borrowed from another building. The regularity of the pavement was interrupted only by a curious plastered projection from the south wall and by the intrusion of a



FIG. 47.—ROOM SOUTHEAST OF GREAT HALL, SHOWING A VERTICAL POTTERY DRAIN OF A LATER PERIOD AND (AT *a*) A BRICK BEARING THE NAME OF ISHARRAMASHU; SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

vertical pottery drain from a higher level. For some reason difficult to understand, the pavement continued even beneath the easterly wall of the room (marked *a* in Fig. 35) and here seemed a little depressed as if from the weight of the wall. The doorway into the Great Hall was similarly paved. It was here that we found a useful clue to the date of the building; for about 10 cm. above the level of the Bilalama threshold there appeared a single brick (marked *a*, Fig. 47) of a later threshold, inscribed with the name of Isharramashu, and it was at this level that the great fire occurred (cf. pp. 46 f. and 53).

It must here be noted that although this conflagration appeared to have burned out almost every room in the parts of the palace so far described, few signs of burning were found beyond the southwest wall of the central court and the buttressed wall farther to the south. Only a slight sprinkling of ashes was found in the latter area; but the fact that it appeared at two different levels was of great assistance in identifying the age of the level outer courtyard (M 32:15) with that of the steeply sloping ground southwest of it (M 32:13), though the two were separated by the retaining wall already mentioned (see p. 47). This retaining wall had evidently

been pierced by a doorway at its lower end, for in the corner formed by it and the street wall in M 32:12 was a pavement of inscribed bricks with a drain beneath, and in the bitumen which had covered it we identified impressions of doorjambs on the northeast side and of a wall along the northwest, although the actual brickwork of this wall had been completely obliterated by later foundations. Figure 48 shows the Bilalama pavement, broken in tracing earlier walls. The layer of ashes from the conflagration which had indicated the contemporaneity of the higher level west of the retaining wall with that in M 32:15 was found to be thickest in the corner formed by the retaining wall and the southerly wall of the private suite. Here a little restoration of the remaining walls produces an inclosure (L 32:4) entered from the outside, which may have been an outhouse of some sort or perhaps a guardhouse.

The courtyard (M 32:15) was approached from the street through a doorway which was

merely a repetition of the old entrance to the palace chapel. A threshold of inscribed baked bricks with a drainpipe beneath (Fig. 49) was the only indication left of the doorway at this level, as the street wall had later been razed to the level of the pavement and rebuilt without a doorway at this point. There was a secondary approach from here to the palace court (M 31:1) by passing across the outer courtyard (M 32:15) and through a vestibule (M 31:16), which



FIG. 48.—Room M 32:12, SHOWING BILALAMA PAVEMENT ABOVE VERTICAL POTTERY DRAIN AND (AT RIGHT) A DOOR-JAMB OF THE ILUSHUILIA BUILDING RE-USED AS A BUTTRESS; SEEN FROM WEST

had what may have been a small guardroom adjoining (M 31:15). The doorway from the courtyard into this vestibule had a paved threshold (Pl. III) which suggests that this was a way of entry frequently used.

The private suite and other rooms at the higher Bilalama level consisted of a northwest wing directly connected with the lower-level palace by the ancient staircase in M 31:18 described above (pp. 54 f.), a small self-contained annex still farther to the northwest, and an inclosed courtyard in the angle between the two. Of the rooms in the northwest wing those to the west, L 31:3-5, and the western outer wall (Fig. 50) were easily traced at an early stage in our

excavations, as they were quite near the surface and showed traces of burning. At that time nothing was known of the two levels, and these rooms were imagined to belong to a much later plan. The walls to the east, however, had been cut through again and again by the foundations of later rebuildings—for example the walls in M 31:11 (Fig. 51)—and it is only from the very small fragments here and there remaining that we have been able to reconstruct the plan of the private suite and its connection with the old staircase. The northerly outer wall of the



FIG. 49.—MAIN ENTRANCE TO COURTYARD (M 32:16) OF BILALAMA'S PALACE, SEEN FROM NORTH

northwest wing was beyond the bounds of subsequent rebuildings (cf. Pl. V) and therefore remained fairly intact; likewise the southerly and easterly walls of one of the northern galleries (L 31:9) were found, which enabled us to establish the shapes of the two communicating rooms (L 31:7 and L 30:3) northeast of it. This done, it was a comparatively easy matter to connect up the fragments of wall south of these and to reconstruct M 31:9 and the suite of anterooms at the head of the staircase. After passing through M 31:22, L 31:12, and M 31:10 one came to a small rectangular room (L 31:11) which appeared to have been regularly paved with Bilalama bricks, for several of these were still in position in the southeast corner. A pivot stone lying loose near by had probably belonged to the doorway leading west into the principal



FIG. 50.—VIEW FROM NORTHWEST ALONG WESTERLY WALL OF PALACE, SHOWING POTTERY DRAIN JUST OUTSIDE THE WALL AND, IN FAR BACKGROUND, THE SOUTHERN BUILDING



FIG. 51.—VIEW OF BILALAMA WALL (a) IN M 31:11, CUT THROUGH BY A LATER FOUNDATION (b); SEEN FROM SOUTH

reception room, L 31:13. The pavement in L 31:11 may have afforded an opportunity for a final ablution ceremony before entering the royal apartments; but it is also tempting to think that the room may have been an open balcony looking out over the courtyard and the entrance to the guardroom.

Room M 31:10 was one of the few places where more than a little conjectural rearrangement was necessary in reconstructing the plan. Its eastern end as we found it seemed to consist of a solid mass of brickwork, and of the two doorways there remained in each case only a portion of one jamb. Furthermore, at the junction of its southeast wall and the northeast wall of the paved room (L 31:11) two steps appeared in the thickness of the wall; they consisted of baked bricks bearing the name of Bilalama. It was only when we realized that these were probably

bricks taken from the paved room and re-used at a later date and that the filling-in of the east end of M 31:10 might have been due to some similar exigency of subsequent replanning that we were able to suggest a logical solution of the plan at this point.

The principal reception rooms, L 31:13 and L 31:5, explain themselves; they were a modification, on a much smaller scale, of the unit consisting of square court and rectangular throneroom. The "throneroom" in this case, L 31:5, had a small door leading north into the ruler's private apartments. Here there seems to have been the usual arrangement of a number of small rooms (L 31:4 and 15-16) arranged round a court (L 31:3), from which they probably obtained light. In the northwest corner of this court a square shaft, constructed of baked bricks inscribed with the name Ibalpiel, was probably a well sunk from the level of Ibalpiel I (cf. p. 79 and Pl. V). It was in this court and the adjoining room (L 31:3-4) and in the throneroom (L 31:5) that we found the first indications that we were dealing with rooms of the Bilalama period, for

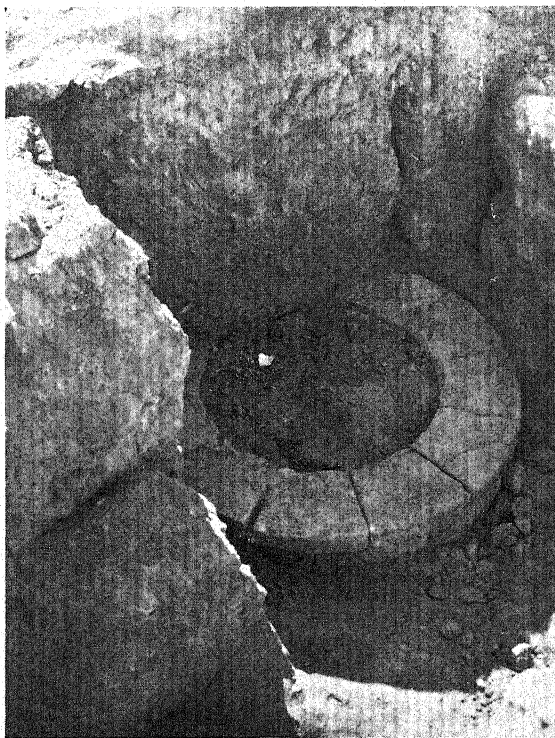


FIG. 52.—CIRCULAR WELL OF IBALPIEL I IN K 31:2 OF BILALAMA BUILDING, SEEN FROM NORTH

in each case the southwest wall had a revetment of baked bricks inscribed with the name of that ruler. This dating was borne out by our finding a little below the floor of this wing (in L 31:4-5 and M 31:9) tablets dating from the Third Dynasty of Ur and corresponding to our earliest foundations.

At the northwest corner of the wing there occurred a large rectangular shaft (L 31:8) lined with baked bricks of Urninmar. Above it were the remains of an ingenious vault of sun-dried brickwork (see Fig. 66). It was evident that when this was constructed a portion of the Bilalama wall revetment was removed and rebuilt farther to the northeast as a reinforcement to the shaft. This produced in the revetted wall a "jogged" effect which was at first difficult to understand. It also caused a general confusion of the Bilalama plan at this point, as a result of which only this is clear—that there must have been a doorway connecting L 31:9 with the self-contained building to the northwest, for otherwise there would have been no reason for extending the southeastern gallery of the latter to the south.

A plausible explanation of the function of this separate unit would be that it merely accommodated guards who watched over the northern approach to the palace. The unit consisted of three long rectangular rooms around a court, K 31:1. The walls were near the surface and were easily traced owing to their burnt wall faces. The room to the west was apparently approachable only from outside, through a curiously small doorway which was later deliberately blocked up. The room to the north (K 31:2) disclosed a circular well of specially shaped baked bricks (Fig. 52); but the well turned out to be intrusive, for the bricks were stamped with the name of a later ruler, Ibalpiel I.¹³ At the east end of this gallery there were two vertical pottery drains, likewise probably of later date. The court, K 31:1, had a doorway to the south which had been blocked later. It had led into an area bounded diagonally on the south side by a fragmentary wall, perhaps part of an adjacent building.¹⁴

K 31:1 was entered from the inclosed courtyard to the east (L 30:2) through two carefully arranged doorways with a vestibule between. The entrance to this courtyard had later been utilized to accommodate a substantial pit (L 30:1) built of baked bricks inscribed with the name of a later ruler, Urninmar.

The levels of the three northern entrances to the palace—namely that just mentioned into L 30:2, that adjoining the ramp which took the place of the eastern staircase in M 30:3, and that in the old temple, in O 30:8—suggest that when Bilalama built his palace he had to deal with a site sloping down to the east as well as to the south.

THE POST-BILALAMA PALACE AND THE RECONSTRUCTION BY URNINMAR

The sequence of events following the great fire which destroyed the palace of Bilalama is a little difficult to follow. It is clear, however, that at least in the western part of the plan there was no immediate attempt at rebuilding, for over the whole of the outer courtyard (M 32:15; see Pl. III) of the former palace we found, in addition to the thin layer of ashes attributable to the fire, a much deeper stratum of soft gray-green rubbish. This could only be explained if the old courtyard had lain for a considerable period disused and exposed to the weather, for at the next rebuilding (Pl. V) new rooms were built over it.

This first attempt to raise up a new building out of the ruined Bilalama structure seems to have been a somewhat patchy affair engaged in by several rulers; for among the inscribed bricks which we found incorporated in it occurred the names of no less than three different rulers—Isharramashu, Azuzum, and Urninmar.¹⁵ Of these the latter two were unknown in deeper levels; the first has already been mentioned as that successor of Bilalama in whose reign the great fire took place (see pp. 46 f. and 58). It seems likely, therefore, that bricks bearing Isharramashu's name were merely re-used by Ušurawasu(?),¹⁶ Azuzum, and Urninmar in the makeshift building which they erected. It also seems probable that Urninmar himself later in his reign became dissatisfied with the makeshift and made a second and more ambitious attempt at rebuilding, for in the walls and pavements belonging to this later level we found only Urninmar bricks and a few bearing the name of Urningishzida. Our next plan (the black-hatched plan on Pl. V) is therefore a combined record of these two successive attempts at rebuilding.

¹³ This well was some distance to the west of any remains of the Ibalpiel I palace which could be recovered.

¹⁴ Not shown on the plan.

¹⁵ This reconstruction is referred to elsewhere in this volume (in chap. v, e.g. pp. 118 f.) as the Palace of Three Rulers.

¹⁶ While no brick inscriptions bearing Ušurawasu's name were found, the tablets make it fairly certain that he succeeded Isharramashu, and it is therefore likely that he took a part in the reconstruction.

As has already been said, the first attempt at remodeling was evidently not undertaken until the old palace had been lying in ruins a considerable time. It is therefore quite understandable that all traces of a great many minor features of the preceding plan had been lost, and these were consequently not repeated. The usual conservatism was shown in regard to the central court of the palace (M 31:1) and the rooms to the east of it; but the area west of the central



FIG. 53.—MAIN ENTRANCE IN M 32:8, SHOWING FOUNDATION OF URNINMAR BRICKS (*a*) SURMOUNTED BY SEVERAL COURSES OF IBIQADAD I BRICKS (*b*); SEEN FROM NORTH

court was entirely replanned, and drastic changes took place in the functional arrangement of the building. In describing these we shall refer mainly to the second and more complete rebuilding, which lies to the credit of Urninmar alone, rather than to his earlier effort in continuing the construction engaged in by Azuzum; for the two are not everywhere distinguishable, and it seems likely that the earlier was never really completed.

Perhaps the most notable change of plan was in the arrangement of the entrance from the street. The old eastern doorway was retained, for, although we found no bitumen-covered steps, as in lower levels, we discovered a large pivot stone (marked *d* in Fig. 21) in place



FIG. 54.—CLEARING AWAY THE BRICKWORK IN ENTRANCE (M 32:8) AND ENTRANCE VESTIBULE (M 32:7), SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST



FIG. 55.—ENTRANCE OF URNINMAR'S PALACE AND (AT RIGHT) AN IBALPIEL I PAVEMENT, SEEN FROM SOUTH

inside the easterly jamb. Southwest of the entrance vestibule (N 31:1) were two long, communicating galleries very much as before (N 31:2-3); but the room beyond these which replaced the former vestibule (M 32:10) now had no doorway into the court. Unless, therefore, there was a new doorway leading east out of the entrance vestibule, the street entrance can have given access only to this group of four rooms. Northeast of the entrance vestibule we were able to recover little of the plan, owing to the massive foundations of a later building (p. 68). We felt certain, however, that there was a doorway leading northeast from N 31:1, and we have therefore indicated this in our hypothetical restoration. This doorway probably gave access to a second anteroom (O 31:8), from which one might pass into room N 31:10 and so into the Great Hall itself (N 30:3) and through it, by way of N 30:7 and N 31:6, to the court. It seemed likely, however, that there would be some more direct way than this of approaching the central court from the street; and this was not far to seek.

Southwest of the court we found at this level a room, M 32:7, which was systematically paved with baked bricks bearing the name of Urninmar, the pavement resting on a foundation of similar bricks about ten courses deep (cf. pp. 53 f.). This mass of brickwork extended from the outer face of the northerly doorway to the outer face of the street wall. Figure 53 shows this foundation from the north, surmounted by about eight courses of Ibiqadad I bricks, forming a similar foundation to a later version of the same paved room. This mass of brickwork had to be cut away to trace the room beneath (M 32:11 on Pl. III) shown in Figure 43; Figure 54 shows this work in progress.

Although neither here nor at higher levels was there sufficient left of the outer wall to make a doorway into the street at this point indisputable, yet it would be difficult to explain the massively constructed baked-brick wall at the southerly end of the room on any other assumption; and the very fact that the wall at this end of the room had completely disappeared above the pavement level (Fig. 55) is an argument in favor of the existence of a doorway. It has accordingly seemed justifiable to indicate that the building at this period still had two doorways leading into the street, and that the western of the two occurred at M 32:8, a little east of the point where a slight jog in the street wall marks the corner of the main building.¹⁷

The rooms west of the new entrance we call "the west wing," and it was this part of the building which Urninmar apparently found it most necessary to replan (cf. p. 64). The former courtyard (M 32:15 on Pl. III) had become to a large extent filled up with rubbish, and over this a whole suite of new rooms was now built. It seems probable that at the first of the two rebuildings which we are discussing there were still two levels in this part of the site, though no definite evidence of this could be detected. It is certain, however, that when Urninmar undertook his second rebuilding he evened off the ruins of previous buildings to a uniform level throughout before erecting the west wing. The latter does not seem to have extended to the north much beyond the southerly wall of the old Bilalama private suite, for we found the walls of those rooms still standing to the surface of the tell. In fact it is possible that they escaped destruction at the time of the fire in Isharramashu's reign and were re-used by Urninmar. The west wing thus seems to have consisted of a range of largish rooms immediately west of the main palace building and, to the west of these, a number of small rooms grouped round a new outer courtyard. This courtyard was bounded on the northerly side by the old southerly wall of the private suite and on the southwest by a new wall which was also the westerly limit of the building.

The eastern limit of the palace at this stage is more difficult to determine. It is clear that Ituria's temple and the rooms built over it by Bilalama were now lying completely derelict,

¹⁷ In *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 6, the locus number M 32:8 was incorrectly applied to the main vestibule instead of to the street entrance and adjacent area as it should be.

and very little attempt was made at the time of the first post-Bilalama rebuilding (cf. p. 63) to do more than utilize the ruins as outhouses. Indications of these intermediate structures are shown on the Bilalama plan (Pl. III) in order not to confuse unnecessarily the details of Urninmar's later rebuilding. For instance, in the center of the old temple court (O 30:17) a



FIG. 56.—VIEW FROM ENTRANCE OF FORMER TEMPLE, SHOWING NARROW PASSAGEWAY IN TEMPLE COURT AND THE KILN IN THE CULT NICHE

passage about 2 meters wide had been cut through the ruins from the old main entrance to the doorway of the former cella (Fig. 56 and Pl. III). The passage was bordered by thin brick walls. In Section AA of Plate VIII they are shown standing; one of the walls, after the surrounding debris had been removed, appears in the background of Figure 13 also. We know that Urninmar re-used the old temple entrance because we found drains carefully constructed of baked bricks passing through it at no less than three levels (Fig. 57; see also Pl. VIII,

section AA), the lower two drains containing bricks bearing his name (cf. p. 70). This walled passage straight across the old court suggests that the kilns in the old cella were still in use. A similar passage, at a slightly higher level, cut diagonally across the ruins of the old Bilalama rooms (in squares O 30-31) on a line from the kiln room (the old cella) to the old palace entrance (Fig. 58 and Pl. III). This passage also had narrow walls; it appeared to stop short against a vertical face at about the point where we suppose the eastern outer wall of the palace proper stood at this period. On Plate III a white rectangle lying across the wall between O 30:13 and the court represents another intermediate structure (O 30:11), probably a rubbish pit.

The difficulty in determining the eastern outer wall of the palace is due to the presence here of massive foundations (cf. Fig. 51) of a building the floor of which must have lain well above

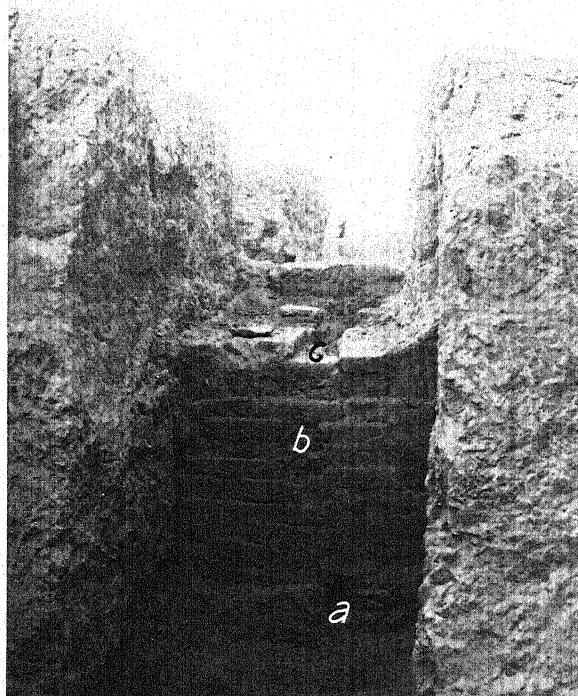


FIG. 57.—ENTRANCE TO FORMER TEMPLE, SHOWING THREE HORIZONTAL DRAINS (a-c); SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

the present surface of the tell, and of which the plan has therefore not been preserved. It has been attributed to Ibiqadad II, partly because these great "footings" connect up with the extensive buildings of which we have unearthed foundations on the other side of the street (pp. 86-91 and Pl. VII) and partly because he has been described as the "enlarger of Eshnunna" and undoubtedly was one of the great rulers of the dynasty. The particular "footing" in question was sunk to beneath the Urninmar level (cf. that found northwest of N 30:12, shown in Fig. 46) and cut directly across the three rooms east of the Great Hall. In the case of the northernmost room (N 30:2) this left the plaster face and a few centimeters of the east wall intact, but it cut off the other two rooms in such a way as to leave these compartments (N 30:1 and O 31:5) without apparent communication with each other. All that we can tell is that these two rooms were probably wider than N 30:2 and that they had a doorway farther east leading from one to the other or that O 31:5 was approached from the south.

Throughout the time of the two rebuildings the eastern wall of this line of rooms must have formed the eastern limit of the main building; for beyond it to the east, in the area between

the remains of the old northerly wall of the temple and the new inclosure wall to the south (see below), we found only a complex of irregularly shaped new rooms and two or three rooms of the old temple still left standing and now reutilized. East of these the walls became impossible to trace, and the periods were indistinguishable, owing to the fact that foundations of later walls were laid at all angles and formed an almost homogeneous mass of brickwork. To

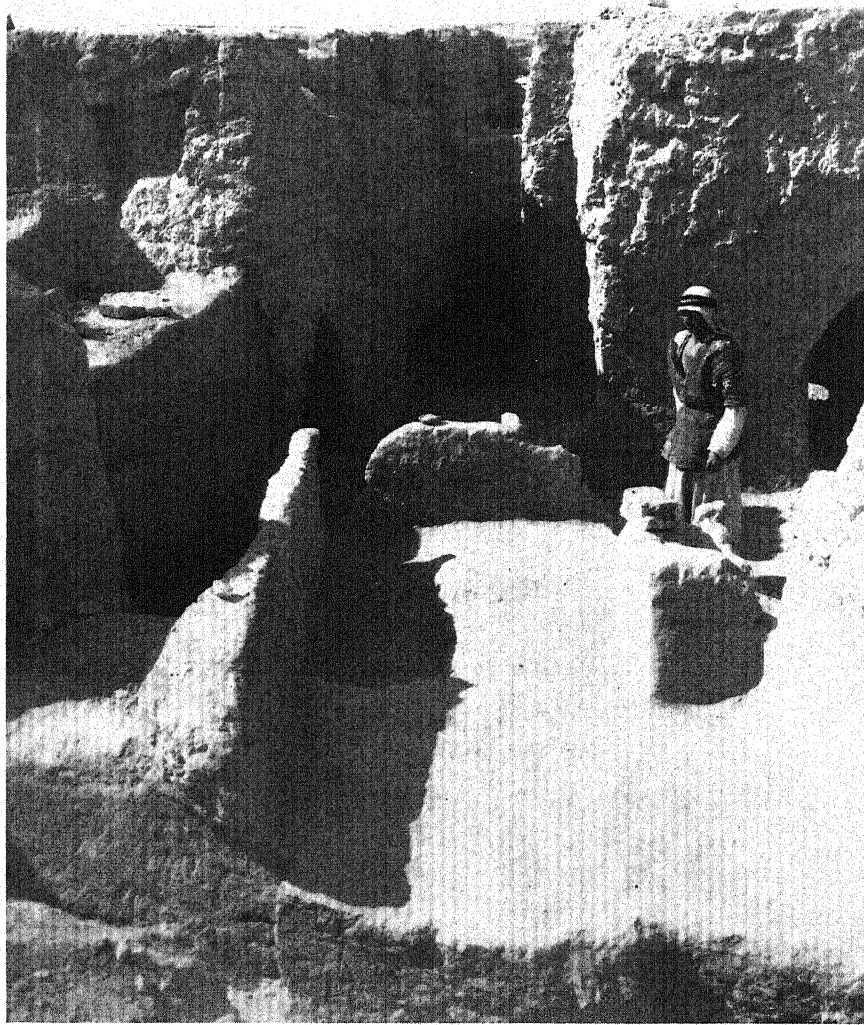


FIG. 58.—DIAGONAL PASSAGE ACROSS PART OF TEMPLE SITE, SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

the northeast, however, there appeared in P 29 a thick, buttressed wall which evidently had limited the entire compound on the east side. Some distance inside this was situated the vaulted pit (O 29:1), dating from this period, which marks the point where our excavations originally started (Fig. 59).

Since the slope of the tell over the area between this pit and the palace proper would in any case have made it impossible to trace a plan of a period later than that of Urninmar (see Pl. VIII, section 4A), it may be well at this point to discuss the vaulted pit which originally had

attracted our attention to this part of the site, and to touch on the puzzling network of walls in which we found ourselves involved upon attempting to investigate the immediate neighborhood.¹⁸ The walls ultimately led us to the palace proper; but until the day when, to our great relief, we began to recognize the more symmetrically planned rooms of a public building our problem was a disconcertingly complex one.

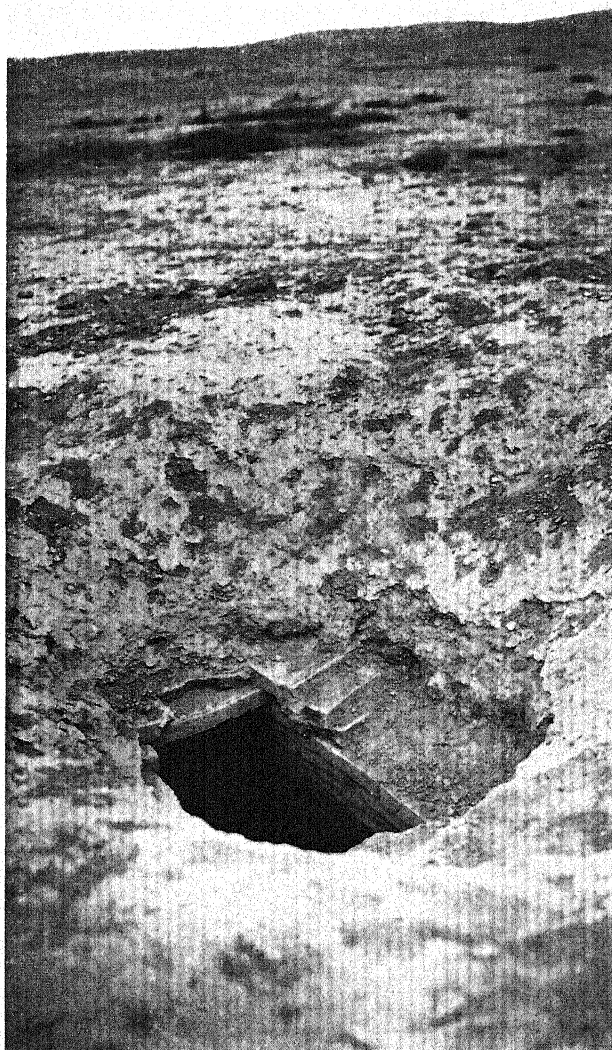


FIG. 59.—URNINGISHZIDA PIT, O 29:1, THE STARTING-POINT OF THE EXCAVATION AT TELL ASMAR

The pit was built of baked bricks inscribed with the name Urningishzida (bldg. inscr. No. 8), a name which occurs only in conjunction with that of Urninmar. For example, of the two doorsills in the northeast corner of the Great Hall (N 30:3) that leading to the east is paved with Urninmar bricks, the other with Urningishzida bricks. In the old temple entrance, P 31:1, the upper Urninmar drain (see pp. 67 f.) was partly constructed of Urningishzida bricks; and in L 30:4, north of the Urninmar palace, a similar condition was observed.

The inside dimensions of the pit, O 29:1, were 2.80×1.60 meters; its depth to the point where the brickwork stopped was 6 meters. There seemed to be no sort of floor at this point,

¹⁸ *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 6.

but the filling from here upward was evidently merely earth fallen in from above. The walls were one brick (about 40 cm.) thick, and on the inside face a series of small holes appeared at intervals of about 1 meter, probably where the ends of scaffold poles had been lodged during its construction. The vault was constructed by corbeling out each course about 10 cm., and at the top there was a breach about $1.00 \times .50$ meters when we found it (Fig. 60).

On further investigation the pit proved to be located almost in the center of a small rectangular room, O 29:2, which had evidently been completely paved with inscribed baked bricks covered with a thin layer of bitumen. The pavement is seen in the background of Figure 59. The crown of the vault no doubt had come directly beneath this pavement. In the south-

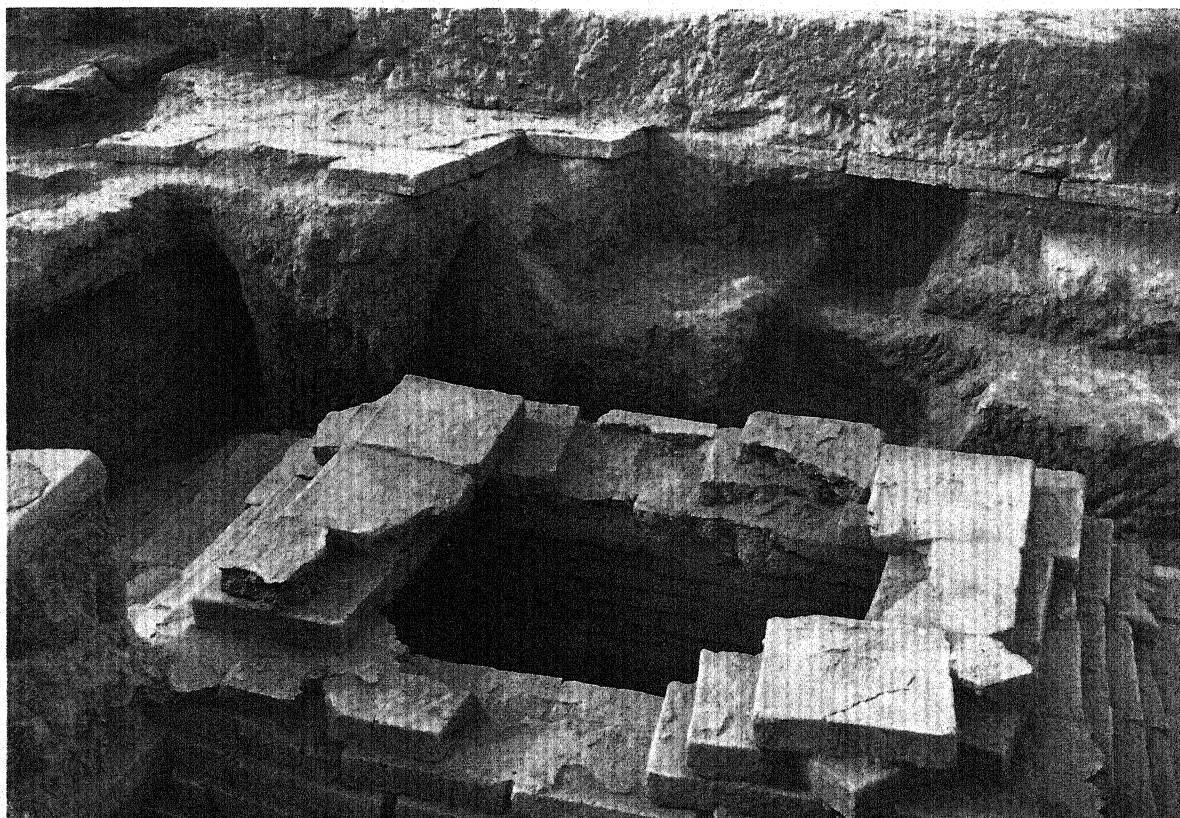


FIG. 60.—URNINGISHZIDA PIT AFTER IT WAS CLEARED, SHOWING VAULTING AND THE PAVEMENT ABOVE; SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

west corner of the room there was a vertical pottery drain; and from the head of this a bitumen-lined channel (O 29:3) was sunk in the pavement, running east across the end of the room, probably to control overflow from the drain. Passing through the east wall into P 29:4, the channel connected with a covered drain of baked bricks likewise inscribed with the name of Urningishzida. Originally this drain had doubtless discharged outside the inclosure wall, but from a point about halfway across P 29:4 it had been destroyed during the construction of a later pit (cf. p. 81). Room O 29:2 had a doorway in the center of the north wall, and the position of the pit (O 29:1), in the center of the room and on the same axis as the doorway, is one feature which suggests that it was more than a mere cellaret or storage chamber. If it was a tomb it must have been rifled in antiquity, for we found it quite empty.

In endeavoring to trace the walls of O 29:4, the room adjoining O 29:2 to the north, we

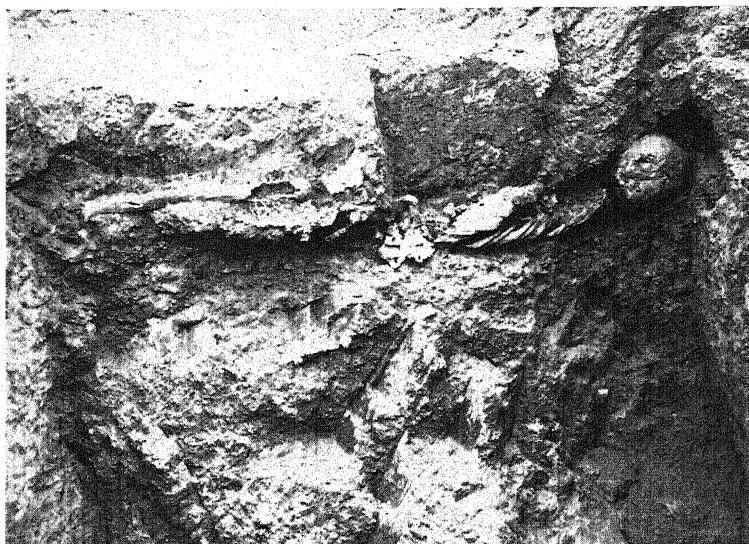


FIG. 61.—BURIAL BENEATH INCLOSURE WALL SOUTH OF FORMER TEMPLE, SEEN FROM NORTH

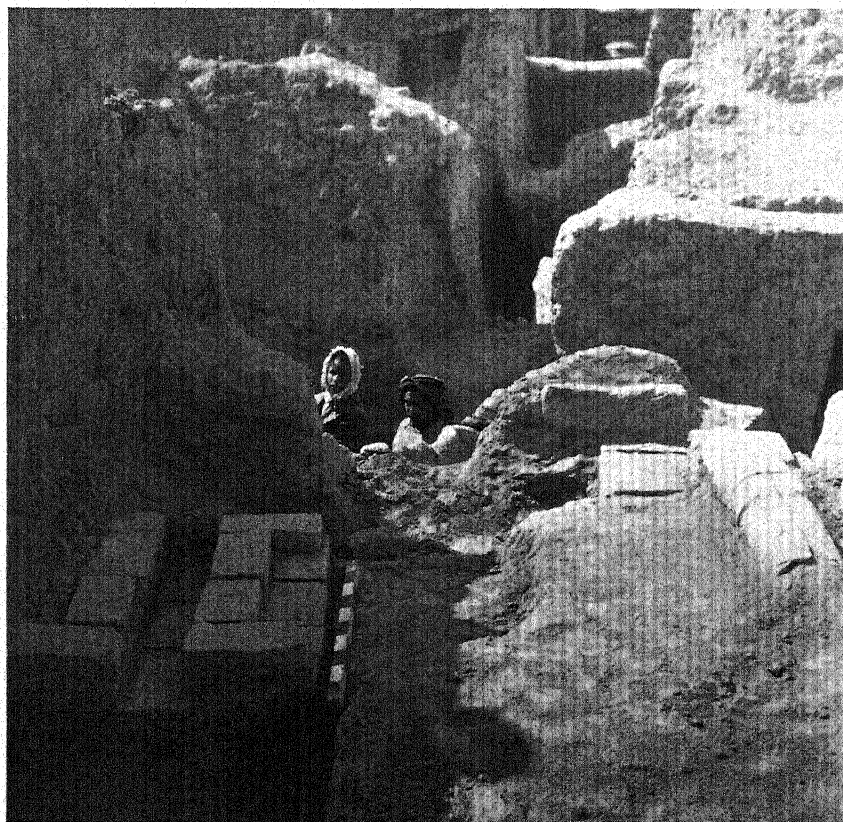


FIG. 62.—ROOM O 30:11, SHOWING TWO DRAINS, SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

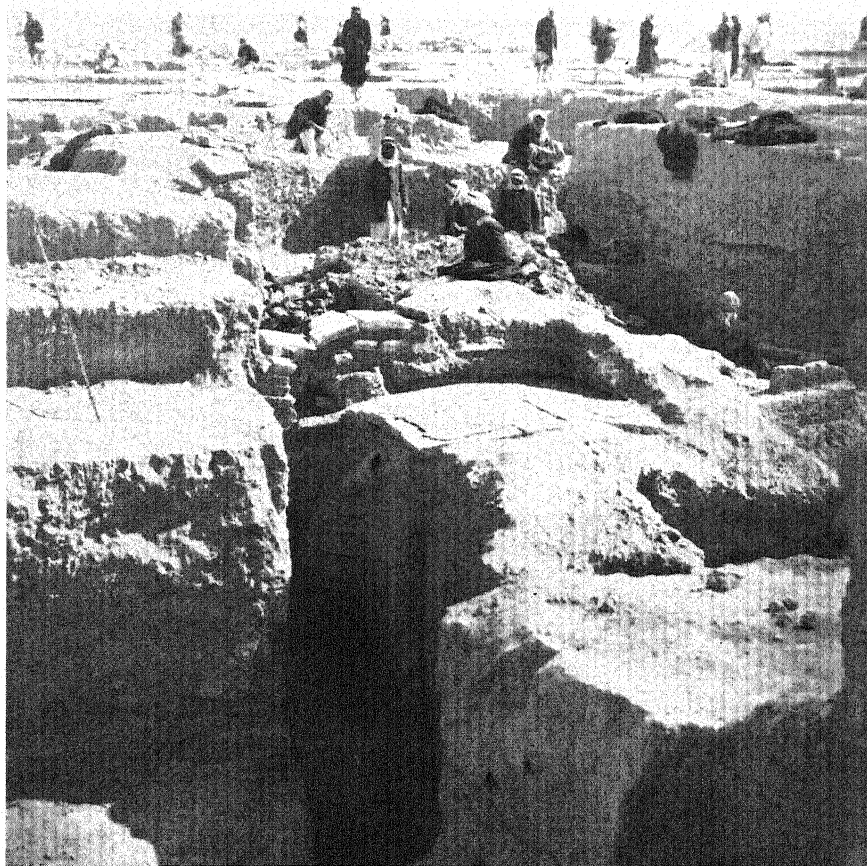


FIG. 63.—BITUMEN-COVERED PAVEMENT IN O 30:6 WITH POTTERY PIPE AND DRAIN OF AN EARLIER PERIOD BENEATH, SEEN FROM WEST



FIG. 64.—DRAIN AND JARS IN O 30:4, SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

were at once brought up short against later foundations, and on penetrating beneath the floor we found the narrow walls of earlier rooms oriented diagonally.

Meanwhile, our efforts to follow the buttressed inclosure wall from P 29 to the south proved unsuccessful beyond a certain point.¹⁹ But the existence of the inclosure wall at once suggested that our investigations should continue toward the west, and this eventually brought us through a tangle of outbuildings to the palace itself. The outbuildings were approached from the south through a doorway in a new outer wall (O 31:4) which had evidently been built about this time to inclose the temple ruins. Figure 61 shows a burial apparently beneath the east jamb of this doorway. It is doubtful how much of the former temple now remained

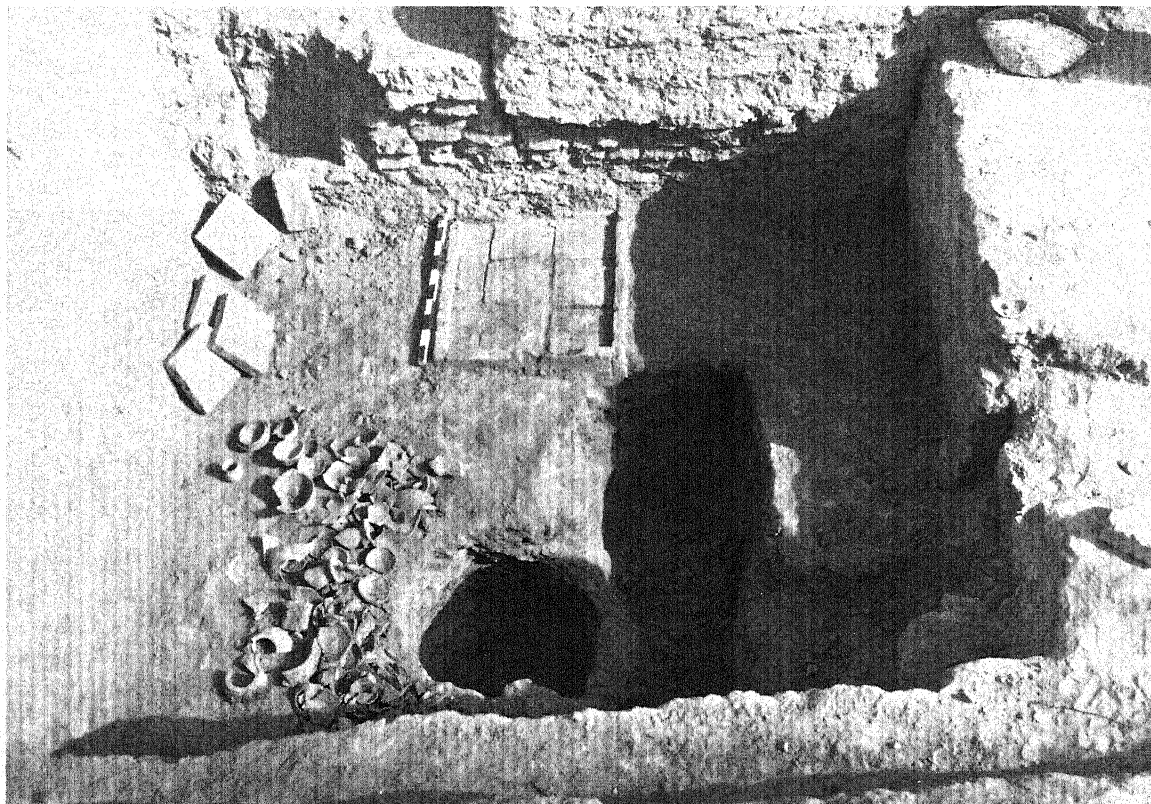


FIG. 65.—ANTEROOM M 32:6 WITH ABLUTION PAVEMENT, SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

in use, but it is at least certain that one or more of the three drains passing through the old entrance (see pp. 67 f.) belonged to Urninmar's building. The old vestibule (P 31:1) and the room adjoining it to the west (O 31:2) remained intact.

To the north a number of somewhat makeshift rooms had appeared (cf. p. 69) in which the most notable features were a series of drains, most of them converging on a large circular cess-pool (seen at the left in Fig. 20). This, however, must have dated from an earlier period, as it occurred beneath the doorway of a small room, O 30:11, and was overlapped by the doorjambs. Of the two drains which entered this room through the southwest wall (Fig. 62) one was merely a bitumen-lined, baked-brick channel, whereas the other was composed of cylindrical pottery pipes; the latter drained a small baked-brick and bitumen-lined sink situated in the corner

¹⁹ In the season of 1933/34 the buttressed wall was followed to the north, and another section of Urninmar's building was discovered; see pp. 97-99 and Pl. XII.

of the adjoining room, O 30:12. This room and its neighbor, O 30:6, probably owed their peculiar shape to the fact that the diagonal wall which separated them was a survival of the passage in squares O 30-31 (see p. 68), already mentioned as having been cut through the ruins at the first post-Bilalama rebuilding to connect the east entrance of the palace with the kiln room. Room O 30:6 contained in its eastern end a square pavement of baked bricks inscribed with the name of Urninmar and covered with bitumen (Fig. 63) which was turned up to form a sort of skirting along the base of the walls to the east and south. It was evident that this was a place of ablution. It sloped down toward its northeast corner and drained into a channel of baked brick running toward the cesspool. There was evidence that an earlier pavement in the same position had drained through a pottery pipe into a vertical pottery drain, for both of these still remained intact (Fig. 63).

The fourth and longest drain which appeared in this quarter ran from south to north right across room O 30:4, which lay above part of the kiln room (O 30:18) of Bilalama's period. This drain, again, was composed of cylindrical pipes fitting one into another. It connected at a right angle with a section of similar piping which ran from beneath a small Urninmar pavement (O 30:1) immediately outside what once had been the north wall of the temple, and which was in line with two isolated pipes at P 29:2 in the room adjoining the Urningishzida pit to the east. A number of large earthenware jars were found lying alongside the drain in O 30:4 where it crossed the former kiln room (Fig. 64).

Returning to the new western entrance to the palace (M 32:8), we found that the paved vestibule M 32:7 led into an anteroom (M 31:3). The remains of a baked-brick drain ran down the center of this room and, near the northern end, turned and passed through the wall into the central court. In the southeast corner of the room a doorway led into the central court; the pivot stone and most of the baked-brick threshold remained in place. Opposite this a third door communicated with the rooms to the west.

It is hard to attribute a particular function to any of the rooms in the west wing, since the complicated stratification in this area made it impossible to recognize any characteristic features. It is clear, however, that they formed a group accessible either from the central court to the east or from the new open courtyard L 32:2 to the west (see p. 66). Entering the palace from the latter, one passed through a narrow gallery or through M 32:2 and M 32:16 into an anteroom, M 32:6, containing a curbed ablution pavement of the kind so often found near entrances (Fig. 65). The remaining rooms were approached from this anteroom. From the courtyard a rough channel of baked bricks ran toward the street through M 32:2. The dotted lines in the courtyard on Plate V represent rooms added by Ibiqadad I (see p. 77).

A rectangular shaft (L 31:8), constructed of Urninmar baked bricks and apparently sunk

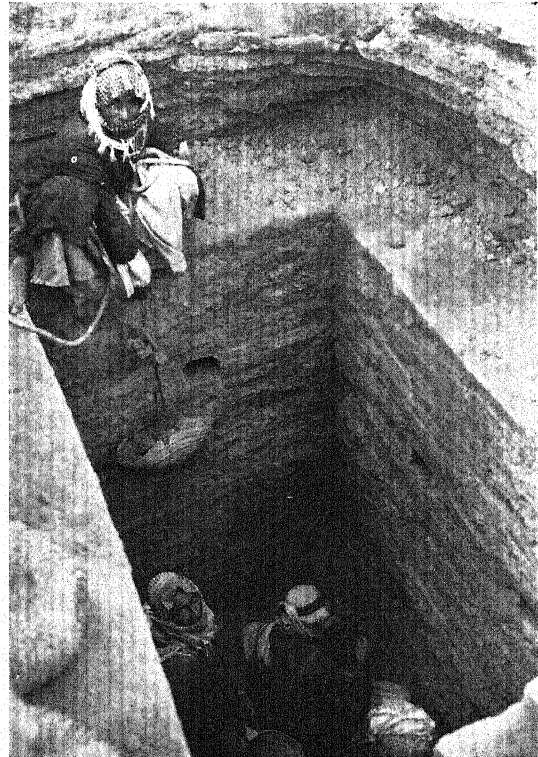


FIG. 66.—A PIT OF URNINMAR BRICKS SUNK INTO THE BILALAMA LEVEL AT L 31:8, SHOWING THE BASE OF THE VAULTING; SEEN FROM NORTH

from the Urninmar level, intruded in the northwest wing of Bilalama's palace (Fig. 66; cf. p. 62 and Pl. III); there were remains of an ingenious vaulting of sun-dried bricks. A rectangular pit, L 30:1, also built of Urninmar's inscribed bricks, was discovered just inside the entrance of a courtyard belonging to Bilalama's palace (see p. 63 and Pl. III).

In the central court at this period (M 31:1) a small section of pavement (M 31:2) remained near the southeast door; in the southwest corner a section of bitumen-lined, baked-brick drain (M 31:4), evidently serving to carry off rain water, ran south parallel to the west wall and appeared again in M 32:10 just before passing out into the street.

Between the Throneroom (N 31:6) and the Great Hall (N 30:3) it was impossible to tell whether or not the narrow passage of the previous plan was repeated, for a deep Ibiqadad II

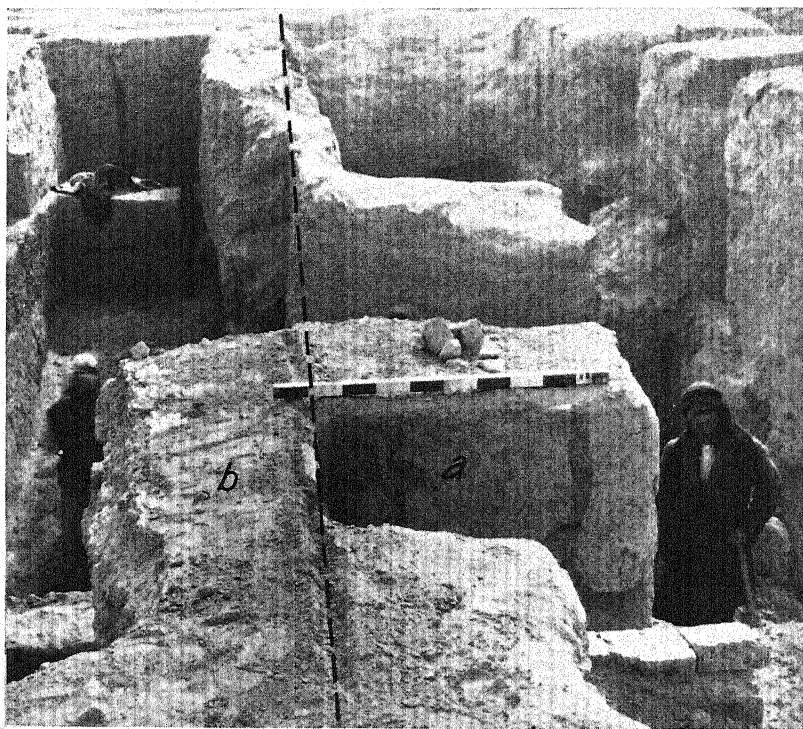


FIG. 67.—NORTHEAST DOORWAY OF M 30:3, SHOWING SOUTHERN JAMB (*a*), AND IBIQADAD II FOUNDATION (*b*) BLOCKING IT; SEEN FROM NORTHWEST

foundation ran the whole length of both. The same foundation blocked a doorway joining M 30:3 and N 30:12; this is shown in Figure 67, the southern doorjamb being marked *a*. These two rooms were in the position once occupied by the staircase. M 30:3 was approached from N 30:7 through twin doorways both of which had the remains of thresholds of baked bricks inscribed with the name Urninmar. Parts of similar thresholds, still retaining their covering of bitumen, were found in the two doorways in the northeast corner of the Great Hall. In one of these the bricks were inscribed with the name of Urninmar; in the other Urningishzida bricks were found (cf. p. 70).

A second Ibiqadad II foundation ran down the center of the Great Hall from end to end, and across N 30:11 a third foundation ran at right angles to the other (Pl. VII). This third foundation necessarily made our restoration of the long room north of the Great Hall conjectural.

It should be noted in Plate VIII, sections *AA* and *BB*, that, apart from the late baked-brick

drains running south across the old temple vestibule, all walls etc. east of the palace proper and of a date later than Bilalama have been omitted in order to avoid confusion. However, in sections CC and AA of Plate VIII we show that at the earliest post-Bilalama rebuilding the east and south walls of the new anteroom, M 32:6, occurred in a position which was later altered by Urninmar. These early walls have been omitted from Plate V.

THE PALACES OF IBIQADAD I, AN ANONYMOUS BUILDER, AND IBALPIEL I

Between the reconstruction of Urninmar, just described, and the surface of the tell three distinct rebuildings were recognizable (see red plan on Pl. V). The first and third of these are unquestionably associated with Ibiqadad I and Ibalpiel I respectively. The second must remain anonymous, since we have no evidence enabling us to attribute it to any particular king among the five who reigned in Eshnunna between Ibiqadad I and Ibalpiel I.

When Ibiqadad I took upon himself the rebuilding of the palace, his first thought apparently was to increase the size of the central court. This he did by pushing out the north wall more than a meter and by absorbing the two small rooms (M 31:3 and its neighbor) which had previously existed to the west of the court. Farther west he largely retained the group of rooms already existing and divided up Urninmar's courtyard (L 32:2) to make three new rooms (L 32:2, M 32:1, and another; see black plan on Pl. V). The northern area, covering the high-level rooms of Bilalama and extending along the northern wall of the central court, he replanned to form a completely new and well built suite of rooms. He re-used the southwestern entrance (M 32:8; red plan on Pl. V) and, again requiring a paved entrance vestibule, presumably as before to facilitate the ablutions of visitors, he built room M 32:7 up to the new level in solid baked bricks (Fig. 53), most of which were inscribed with his name. This mass of brickwork surmounting the similar mass laid by Urninmar can be seen plainly on section AA of Plate VIII, where it is indicated by the locus number of the vestibule, M 32:7. Ibiqadad I rebuilt also the street wall to the east of the entrance, breaking up its face into alternate buttresses and recesses and projecting it in "steps" a little before reaching the eastern entrance, perhaps to increase the dignity of the approach by widening the jambs (cf. p. 83). He must have found it necessary to rebuild almost the whole of the remaining structure also, for his walls, as will be seen, rarely coincide with those beneath them. Particularly in the case of the long southern galleries, the plan suggests that he probably found it necessary to raze the old walls completely before rebuilding them. On the site of the former temple, in squares O 30-31, a number of outbuildings date from the time of Ibiqadad I; in their planning they owe nothing to precedent.²⁰ The uppermost horizontal drain in the entrance vestibule, P 31:1 (see Pl. VIII, section AA), is dated to Ibiqadad I by seal impressions found in the packing (see p. 119 and seal legend No. 40).

The second reconstruction, that of the anonymous ruler, was distinguishable by a rise in the floor level of about a meter. The alterations seem to have been limited mainly to the rooms west of the central court, which dated from the time of Urninmar; they had by this time undoubtedly become somewhat dilapidated. Following the example of Ibiqadad I the anonymous builder razed them to the ground and built a suite of five new rooms, apparently with no access from the west (see red plan on Pl. V).

It remained for a later ruler, Ibalpiel I, to rebuild these and the Ibiqadad I rooms to the north and to unite them with the rest of the building in one homogeneous whole. Ibalpiel's rebuilding is notable for its thoroughness and for the fact that wherever possible his walls were

²⁰ Other remains of buildings dating from Ibiqadad I were found in 1933/34 and are described in chap. iv.

constructed with revetments of baked brick. To this reign belongs the fine circular well of baked bricks, P 30:1, described on page 80. It was sunk into the ruins of the Gimilsin Temple in a room to the east of the temple court (cf. p. 25).²¹

Some interesting features of the plan shown in red on Plate V, which combines the constructions of Ibiqadad I, of the anonymous builder, and of Ibalpiel I, will now be described.

The downward slope of the ground from west to east, combined with the steadily rising building level, produced the result that the floor level of the palace at its eastern entrance (i.e., into N 31:1) was now somewhat above the level of the street (cf. p. 30). Accordingly Ibiqadad

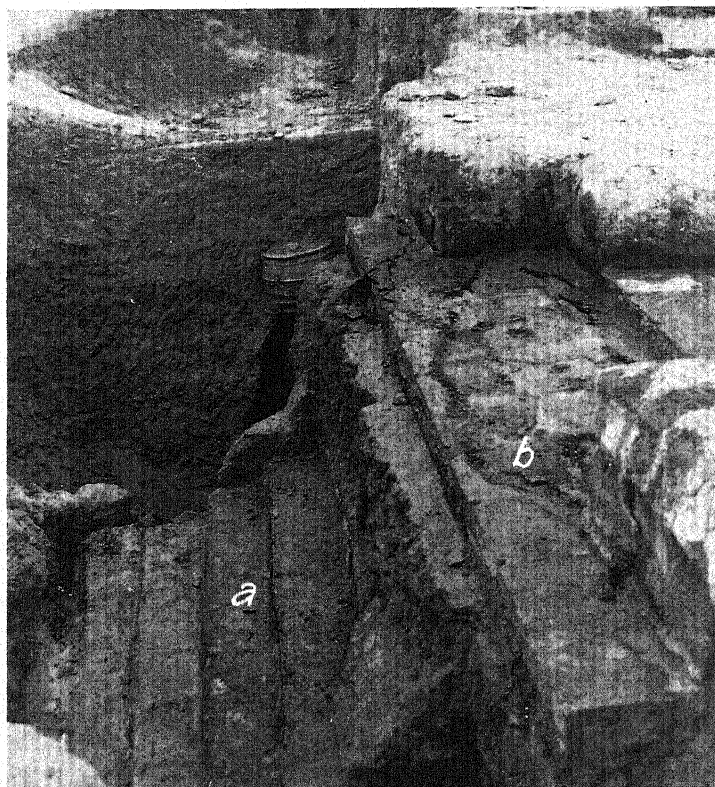


FIG. 68.—STEPS LEADING UP TO SOUTHEASTERN ENTRANCE OF PALACE, THOSE AT *a* CONSTRUCTED BY IBIQADAD I, THOSE AT *b* BY IBALPIEL I; SEEN FROM EAST

I found it necessary to construct a flight of five steps leading up to the doorway (marked *a* in Fig. 68, *e* in Fig. 21). These were made of baked bricks inscribed with his name and covered with bitumen, the latter extending over a small sloping abutment on either side. At a later date Ibalpiel I also found it necessary to construct a stairway at this entrance (*b* in Fig. 68); but by this time the relationship of the levels had altered, and two shallow steps sufficed. It seems likely that the entire threshold also had been paved, but the bricks had been used to line a later grave sunk in the vestibule, N 31:1.

At two points in the street, between the east and west entrances (at N 32:1 and in N 31), Ibalpiel I pavements three or four bricks wide ran up to the face of the building, probably indicating that rain water was discharged from the roof and led off into the street at these points. The easternmost of these two paved "spillways" occurred directly above three large

²¹ Other remains of the Ibalpiel I period were discovered in 1933/34 and are described in chap. iv.

pottery cisterns (Fig. 69) which had obviously served to catch the rain water at a somewhat earlier date. Pavement N 32:1 is shown in Figure 55.

In the central court of the palace (M 31:1) a large new drain (M 31:3) of baked bricks bearing the name of Ibalpiel I ran parallel to and near the west wall to a point midway between the northerly and southerly walls, turning at a right angle toward the middle of the court, where one section of a vertical "soak-away" of the usual type was found in place. The drain evidently ran beneath the floor during the period of Ibalpiel I, for a short length of it was found in the entrance vestibule above the level of the pavement laid down by Ibiqadad I. The actual channel of this drain was half a brick wide and lined with bitumen.

The new rooms to the north and northwest of the central court need very little comment. It is impossible to attribute a particular function to any one of them with the possible excep-

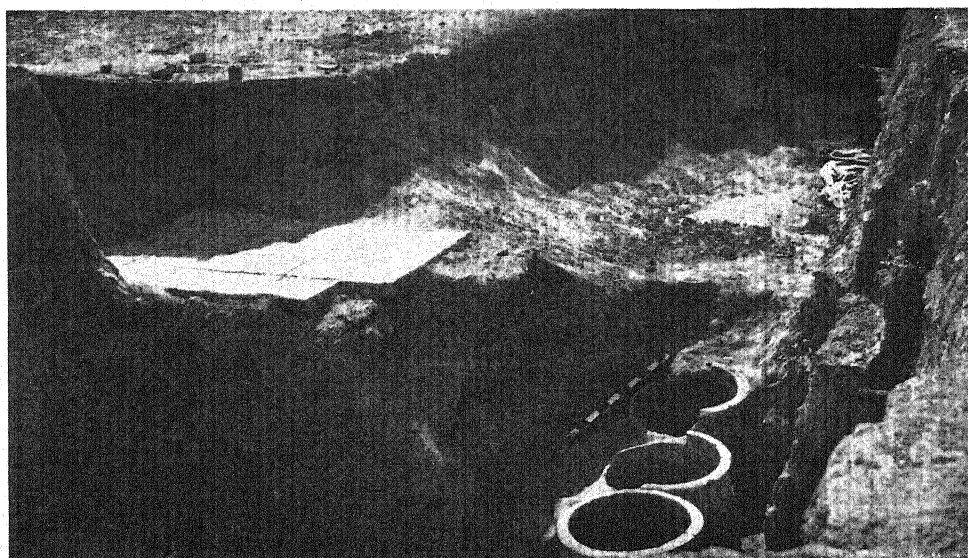


FIG. 69.—EARTHENWARE CISTERNS OUTSIDE OF PALACE WALL IN N 31:1, BENEATH PAVEMENT OF IBALPIEL I; SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

tion of M 31:9 (Fig. 70), which, containing a square pavement of Ibiqadad I bricks surmounting a vertical drain, probably served as a bathroom or toilet. These rooms were accessible from the north through M 30:1 by a doorway with a single line of baked bricks for a sill. Outside this there were remains of a baked-brick drain (M 30:2) running parallel to the outer wall of the building and probably serving to carry off rain water. At the northwest corner of the outer wall, in L 31:3, occurred a square shaft (probably a well) of baked bricks bearing the name of Ibalpiel I; it was 60 cm. square inside and some 6 meters deep (cf. p. 62).

The rooms east of the central court were all rebuilt in very close accord with the previous plan; in fact the easterly wall of the Great Hall (N 30:3) had evidently remained standing and was reutilized.

Of the few rooms which we were able to disentangle from the complex of walls in the area of the former state temple, one (O 30:7) contained two sections of a large vertical pottery drain apparently penetrating from a higher level. The upper section evidently had been used as a repository, for it was packed with a great quantity of tablets in various stages of preservation. The room south of this was furnished with a baked-brick doorsill which enabled us to attribute it to the time of Ibiqadad I. Another room, O 30:12, contained in its northeast

corner a rectangular hearth of the type which we have come to associate with the smelting of metal.

Farther east an inclined causeway in O 30:5, composed of roughly laid baked bricks and having a small cylindrical cistern built into the wall at its head, led down to the head of a large, circular, vaulted well, P 30:1 (Fig. 71), already referred to as belonging to Ibalpiel I (see pp. 25 and 78). This well was built of baked bricks and had an internal diameter of 2.75 meters; its wall was one brick thick. The vault was broken, but the ingenious principle on which it was constructed remained clear. Above a certain point the circle of brickwork was

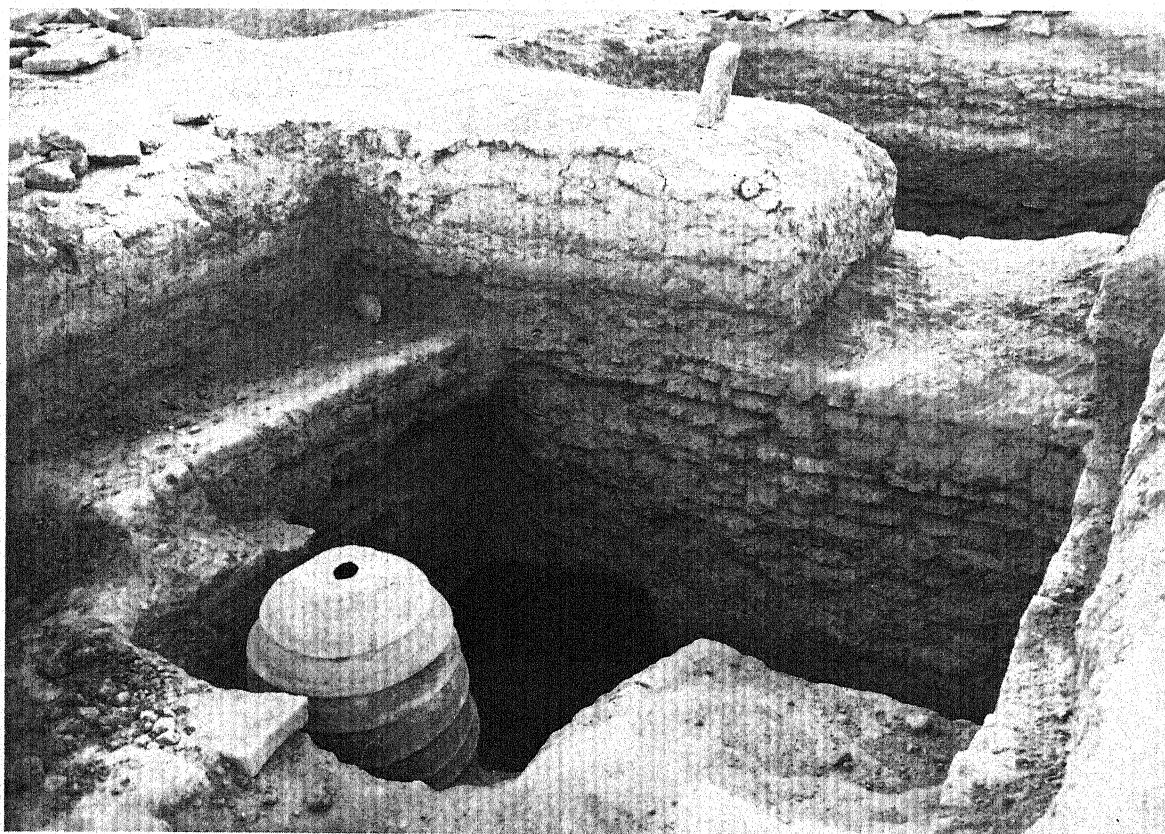


FIG. 70.—ROOM M 31:9, SHOWING VERTICAL DRAIN AFTER REMOVAL OF PAVEMENT OF THE IBIQADAD I PERIOD AND (AT RIGHT) DOORWAY INTO L 31:1; SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

divided into two semicircles, and each continued to be built independently of the other. In each section each course of bricks was tilted inward a little by packing small brick fragments beneath the outer edge. The procedure probably continued until the final courses stood vertical and the two halves met to form a perfect hemispherical dome. Presumably a circular or rectangular opening was left to obtain access to the water below. In our reconstructed plan (Pl. VI) we have suggested a continuation of the causeway pavement around the well head, as a pavement around the well would fairly certainly be necessary.

A pit (P 29:1) just inside the buttressed inclosure wall was built of baked bricks inscribed with the name of Ibiqadad I (bldg. inscr. No. 9). It differs in the method of vaulting from the earlier pit (O 29:1) situated a little to the west of it and associated with the name of Ur-nishizida. Ibiqadad's shaft was rectangular in plan, but the vaulting was semicircular at the ends. The construction was curious. First about five courses of the shorter wall at each

end were corbeled out, each a little beyond the one below it, thereby reducing to some extent the length of the opening. The next few courses were corbeled diagonally across the corners, thus forming a rough semicircle at each end. The vault was probably completed by continuing the system of corbeling around the ends and along the sides as well until the brick courses met. The reason for this rather elaborate method is difficult to explain, unless the vault itself was intended to be visible from above. This, however, does not seem probable, as the semicircular ends in particular were very shoddily constructed of broken bricks, and to the north there were the remains of a pavement, apparently of the same period, at a level only a little above the top of the vault. The depth to which the baked bricks descended was about 6 meters, and the inside dimensions of the shaft were 2×4 meters. As will be seen from the drawing in Plate V, the vaulting had been broken through in antiquity, and the shaft was filled with grayish green rubbish such as is usually associated with sewage or vegetable decay. This may be explained by the fact that in constructing the pit a drain which had been laid across



FIG. 71.—WELL BUILT OF BAKED BRICKS BEARING NAME OF IBALPIEL I, SEEN FROM EAST

P 29:4 in the time of Urningishzida was broken through (p. 71), and if this drain was used again at a later date it may have been allowed to discharge directly into this shaft.

Finally, attention must be called to the fact that the tracing of the walls was frequently interrupted by the discovery of comparatively modern graves breaking through the structure. Such graves were often lined with baked bricks of the period of the level in which they were located or a later period (e.g. those in M 31:8, M 31:11, M 32:8, N 31:1, etc.).

CONSTRUCTIONS OF IBIQADAD II, ESPECIALLY THE SOUTHERN BUILDING

It is clear that Ibiqadad II not only rebuilt the old palace; he also laid the foundations of a new and more ambitious palace on the south side of the street (Fig. 72; cf. Fig. 50). He rebuilt the inclosure wall south of the old temple (cf. p. 74), and where it met the northeast corner of the new palace he constructed a gateway having two pairs of gates and a square chamber between. In Plate VII we have combined these elements in a single drawing. We have also indicated by dotted lines the plan of the old palace in the time of this king's predecessor,

Ibalpiel I, in order to show how that palace was cut across by the massive new foundations (cf. pp. 68 and 76). Owing to the denudation of the tell these were all that remained of Ibiqadad II's effort at rebuilding the old palace, except a few small pavements to be described below. It will be seen from the plan that the new foundations apparently occurred at points where changes of plan made it impossible to obtain support from previous walls and necessitated the sinking of new footings.

It seems fairly certain that the period of Ibiqadad II constituted the highest point in the history of ancient Eshnunna. Not long after his reign the city was deserted and has remained unoccupied to the present day. The tell suffered much from denudation; yet it is a little difficult to understand how the normal process of dilapidation could raze a building of the dimensions indicated by the massive footings to a level well beneath the pavement of its rooms. It is even more surprising in the case of the new Southern Building, the walls of which nowhere



FIG. 72.—VIEW LOOKING ACROSS RUINS OF THE OLDER PALACE TO THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, CONSTRUCTED BY IBIQADAD II; EXPEDITION HOUSE IN BACKGROUND; SEEN FROM NORTH

stand high enough to establish the position of a single doorway. One is therefore tempted to suppose that the latter building was never completed or that it never reached a more advanced stage than the mere skeleton which we were able to trace beneath the surface of the tell.

Of the indications of the building activities of Ibiqadad II, one of the first to come to light was a small pavement, N 30:5 (Fig. 73; cf. Pl. VIII), of baked bricks inscribed with his name (bldg. inscr. No. 13a). This pavement surmounted a vertical drain and, as became evident later, was laid against the outside face of the building and was probably intended to take the flow of rain water from the roof. When found by us it lay directly beneath the surface of the tell. Since the pavement of the rooms probably lay a little above this, it is clear how little chance we had of recovering the complete plan. There was only one other point in the area of the old palace where a section of pavement occurred at a similar level. This was in M 31:7;²² the pavement so nearly coincided with the position of a doorsill in the old palace (at the southwest corner of M 31:6, Pl. V) as to suggest that in this area and to the west the new build-

²² This locus number was incorrectly placed on the plan (Fig. 6) in *OIC* No. 13. However, the reference to the pavement (*ibid.* pp. 7-9) is entirely correct.

ing largely followed the lines of its predecessor. It is impossible, however, even to speculate further, for the tell slopes sharply downward toward the west, and the walls which occur at the surface around the old central court belong wholly to an earlier period.

To the east, between the palace and the inclosure wall, an area of solid sun-dried brickwork, which effectively frustrated our early attempts at wall tracing, undoubtedly consisted to some extent of wall foundations belonging to the period under discussion (cf. p. 69). Yet it seems probable that if these had constituted a building of any importance the remains would have yielded some sort of plan.



FIG. 73.—BITUMEN-COVERED PAVEMENT IN N 30:5, LAID WITH BAKED BRICKS BEARING NAME OF IBIQADAD (II?); SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

The inclosure wall, O 31:4, south of the old temple site and first built by Urninmar (see p. 74) was now rebuilt; it connected the old palace with the new gateway to the east (Fig. 74). This wall had a characteristic common in Babylonian architecture in cases where an important wall was built at an irregular angle. It was "stepped back" at intervals, presumably in order to break up the façade into vertical panels (cf. p. 77). Along the base of the wall (Fig. 75) we found the remains of a pavement consisting of large baked bricks mostly uninscribed, but which in some cases showed the imprint of Ibiqadad II. This pavement had evidently covered the entire street, for it was found for some distance along the face of the Southern Building also; but it disappeared in the actual gateway, the latter being denuded to below pavement

level. In fact the only remaining clue to the function of the gate chamber, Q 31:1 (Fig. 74), was the presence of four small rectangular holes lined with baked bricks. These occurred directly inside the jambs of the two doorways and were doubtless intended to accommodate pivot stones for the doors.

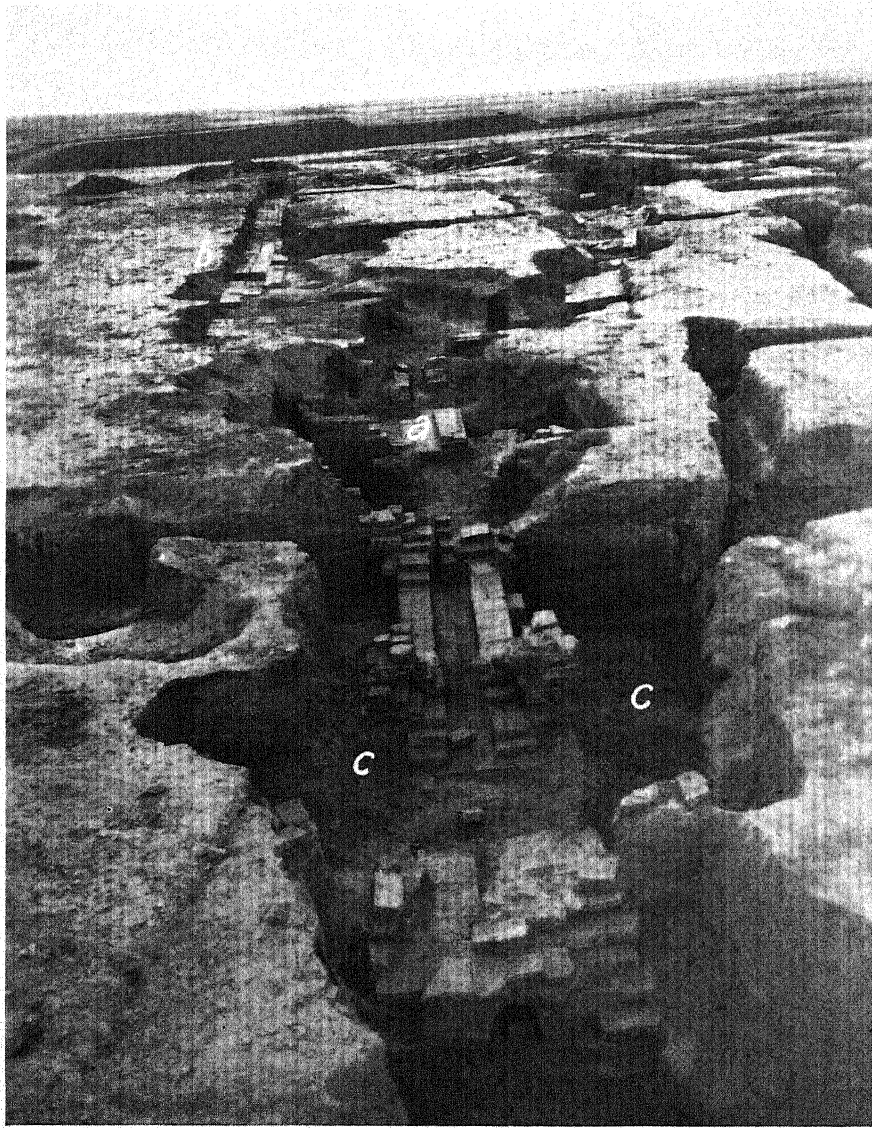


FIG. 74.—STREET (a) IN IBIQADAD II LEVEL; AT LEFT THE NORTHERLY WALL (b) OF THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, IN THE FOREGROUND THE GATE CHAMBER (c, c) AND REMAINS OF A DRAIN COMING FROM THE STREET; SEEN FROM NORTH-EAST

Through the center of the gate chamber ran a well built drain of baked bricks, lined with bitumen; to judge from its size, it was evidently a main sewer. It was one brick wide at the base and was built up on both sides with five slightly overlapping courses, so that the top again could be covered by a single row of bricks, the latter probably constituting part of the pavement. A section of the same drain (Fig. 76) remained intact at N 32:2, a point nearly opposite the west entrance of the Urninmar palace, where it had been patched with inscribed

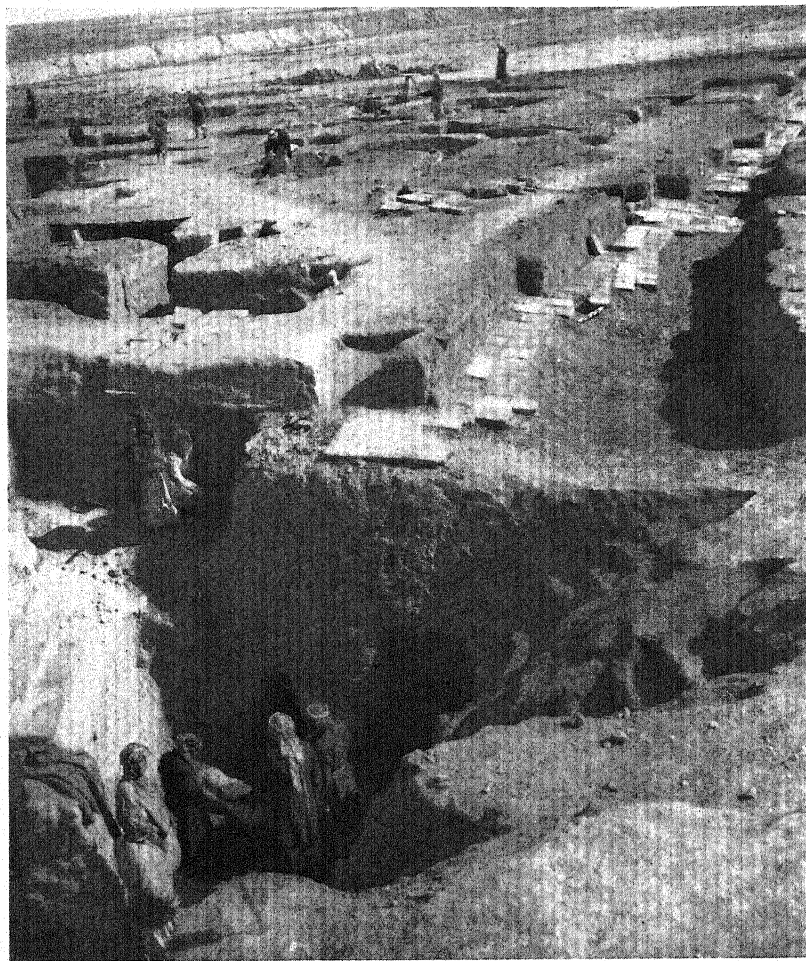


FIG. 75.—STREET IN O 30-31 AND P 30-31, SHOWING REMAINS OF IBIQADAD II PAVEMENT; SEEN FROM NORTHWEST

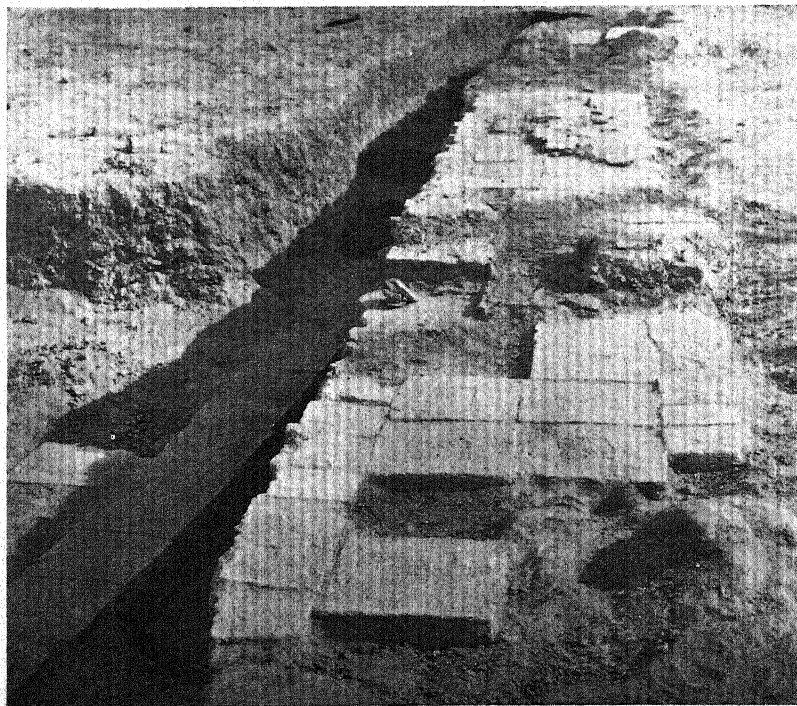


FIG. 76.—DRAIN IN MIDDLE OF STREET AT N 32:2, SEEN FROM SOUTHWEST

bricks of the "genealogical" type mentioning the names of Naramsin, son of Ibiqadad, and of Ibalpiel, son of Dadusha (bldg. insers. Nos. 14-15).

For the following summary of the results of our investigation of the Southern Building we are indebted to Dr. Frankfort.

The big building, the existence of which was revealed to us by rain toward the end of our first season,²³ was excavated in the autumn of 1931 by Mr. Loud. It soon became clear that there could be no hope of finding anything left of the building itself except the foundations (Fig. 77). The seriousness of this loss, suffered presumably as a result of the denudation of the soil, became apparent only when the character of the earlier walls below was made clear; for here was a complete contrast with what we had found in the old palace. There we had unraveled the history



FIG. 77.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, SEEN FROM WEST

of one group of buildings through several centuries, so that the deeper layers could usually supply such information as was lost in the higher strata, and vice versa. Here the deeper layers contained private houses only, and our Southern Building was thus shown to be a new foundation built on top of the ancient structures, or rather in trenches cut into the older remains. Mr. Loud carried out the excavations with the greatest care in the hope of extracting from the bare skeleton of foundation walls some definite information regarding the date and function of the building; but the results must be, of necessity, unsatisfactory.

The private houses beneath the Southern Building contained some inscribed baked bricks originally intended, of course, for use in public buildings. Evidently, then, these bricks had been re-used for private purposes, possibly in the reign of the ruler named upon the bricks but more probably soon after his death. Some of these bricks mention Ibalpiel I (bldg. inser. No. 12); the foundation of our building, which was subsequent to the construction of the private houses below it, must therefore have been later than his reign. Moreover, the street to the north of the Southern Building is paved with bricks mentioning Ibiqadad II, Ibalpiel's son (bldg. inser. No. 13). We know that Ibiqadad II was a very powerful ruler, and we have evidence that he reconstructed the palace, partly on massive new foundations; but we know also that sometime not long after his reign the independence of Eshnunna came to

²³ *Ibid.* pp. 11 f.

an end. It seems natural therefore to ascribe the foundation of the Southern Building, which really formed one architectural group with the last rebuilding of the old palace and was actually connected with it by the gateway to the east, to Ibiqadad II.

From the fact that the pavement in the street had been laid down one would judge that the Southern Building had been completed; for pavements between buildings are usually not put down before the buildings have been



FIG. 78.—REMAINS OF THE SOUTHERN BUILDING IN P 32, SHOWING FOUNDATION (a) CUT INTO WALLS OF PRIVATE HOUSES (b); SEEN FROM NORTHEAST

finished. And yet no traces of floors or of objects which could positively be ascribed to the palace were found. This strange fact may, of course, be due to denudation. Nevertheless it seems hard to believe that the tell should here have been washed away to such a low level, especially if the massive ruined walls continued to lie in place. It may well be, therefore, that destruction by an enemy was a factor in addition to denudation by nature.

In view of this uncertainty we are, of course, completely in the dark as to the function which the building served. It may be that in the future other structures will be found to explain the skeleton unearthed. In the meantime we shall describe the plan of the building as found and make such further suggestions as seem justified.

It seems safe to assume that an entrance flanked by two towers was based on the block projecting from the

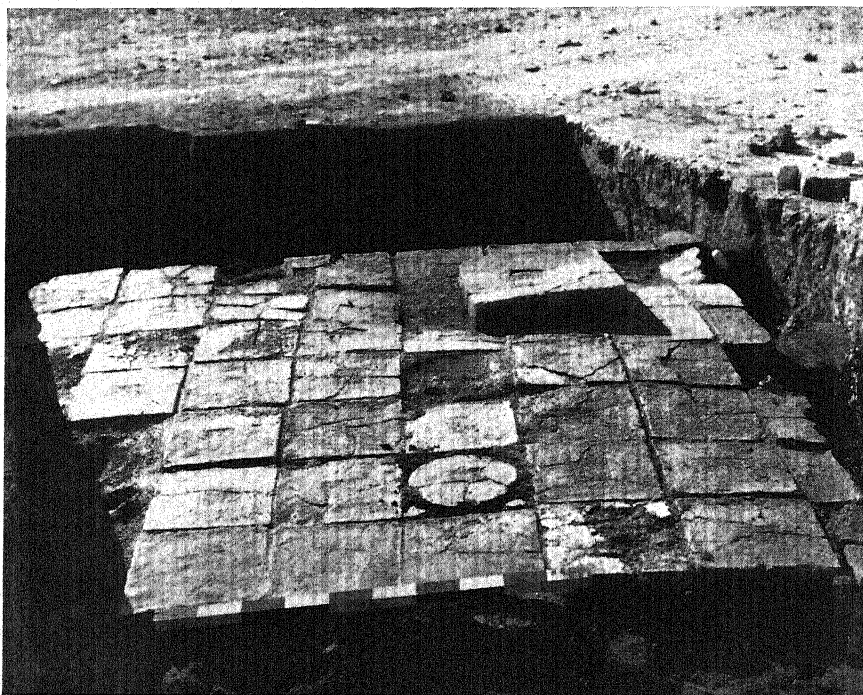


FIG. 79.—PAVEMENT OF IBALPIEL I BRICKS IN A PRIVATE HOUSE (IN N 33:2) BENEATH THE SOUTHERN BUILDING; IN FOREGROUND, A BRICK CUT CIRCULAR; ABOVE PAVEMENT, THE LARGEST BRICK YET FOUND

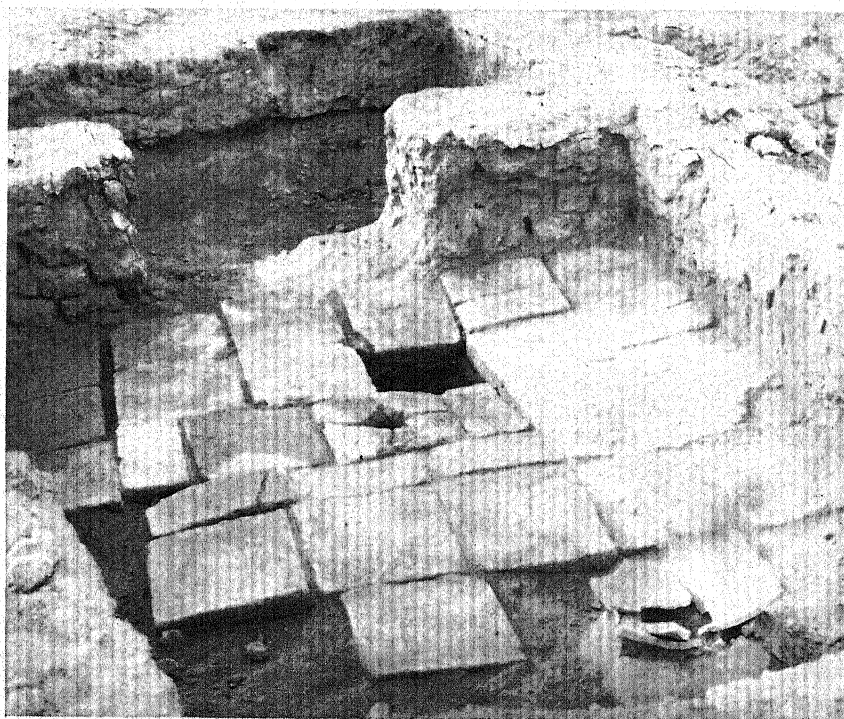


FIG. 80.—PAVEMENT OF IBIQADAD I BRICKS IN A PRIVATE HOUSE (IN Q 33:14) BENEATH THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, SHOWING PIERCED BRICK IN CENTER; SEEN FROM EAST

north wall in M 33-N 32. But as soon as we attempt to reconstruct the rooms and their doorways behind this entrance we get into difficulties. For one thing, we do not know whether every cross-wall in the foundations corresponds with a wall in the actual building. In the old palace we had no opportunity of making observations on this subject, because we did not descend into the foundations of the earliest palace, and the later builders used the earlier walls, on the whole, as their foundations. In the Southern Building, however, we find a heavy monumental structure erected on a site possessing many small walls and ruins. Since a large building erected on such ground might well be expected to settle, it may be that the builders attempted to prevent uneven settling by distributing the weight over a larger number of foundations than they ever intended to raise above floor level. This is suggested especially by the western part of the building. In any case the rooms would have been a little larger than the spaces between the foundations; for we did observe in the old palace that the foundations were wider than the actual walls by about 20 cm. (cf. foundation of M 31:9 in Fig. 70).



FIG. 81.—POTTERY DRAIN IN CENTER OF ROOM I IN THE SOUTHERN BUILDING

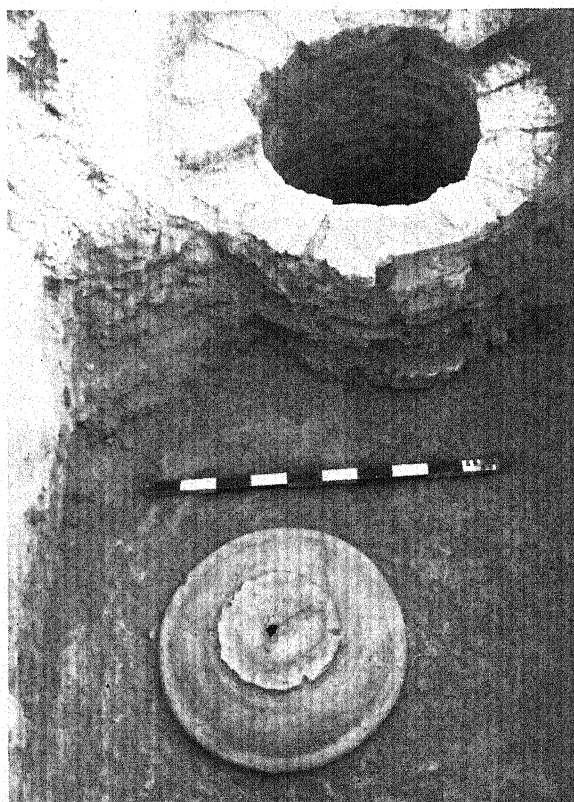


FIG. 82.—BRICK WELL IN ROOM XVIII OF THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

Mr. Loud's very precise observations make it certain that the foundations were laid by digging trenches with almost vertical sides, which penetrated the ancient house ruins. Figure 78 shows a portion of the Ibiqadad II foundation (a), cleaned to show individual bricks, and also the private house walls into which it cut (b). These trenches were then filled with brickwork, the masons beginning to work from one or both ends. The alignment of walls was adjusted as the work went on. On Plate VII such irregularities in deeper layers are shown in broken lines underneath the hatching. There are no doorsills or pivot stones anywhere to show us the interrelation of the rooms, and for the moment we must be satisfied to publish the skeleton as found. The hope that we may one day be able to reconstruct its plan is based on the obvious usage of the Babylonian architects—to build up their monuments from separately conceived units. It is quite clear, for instance, that the unit "square court with transverse room on one side," in which Koldewey and Andrae²⁴ see the original form of the Babylonian house, is applied in our Southern Building no less than three times—Rooms XIV and X, III and IV, and VI and P 34:3. There is also a great similarity between Rooms III, IV, and I in the eastern part of the Southern Building and that group of rooms

²⁴ W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1930).

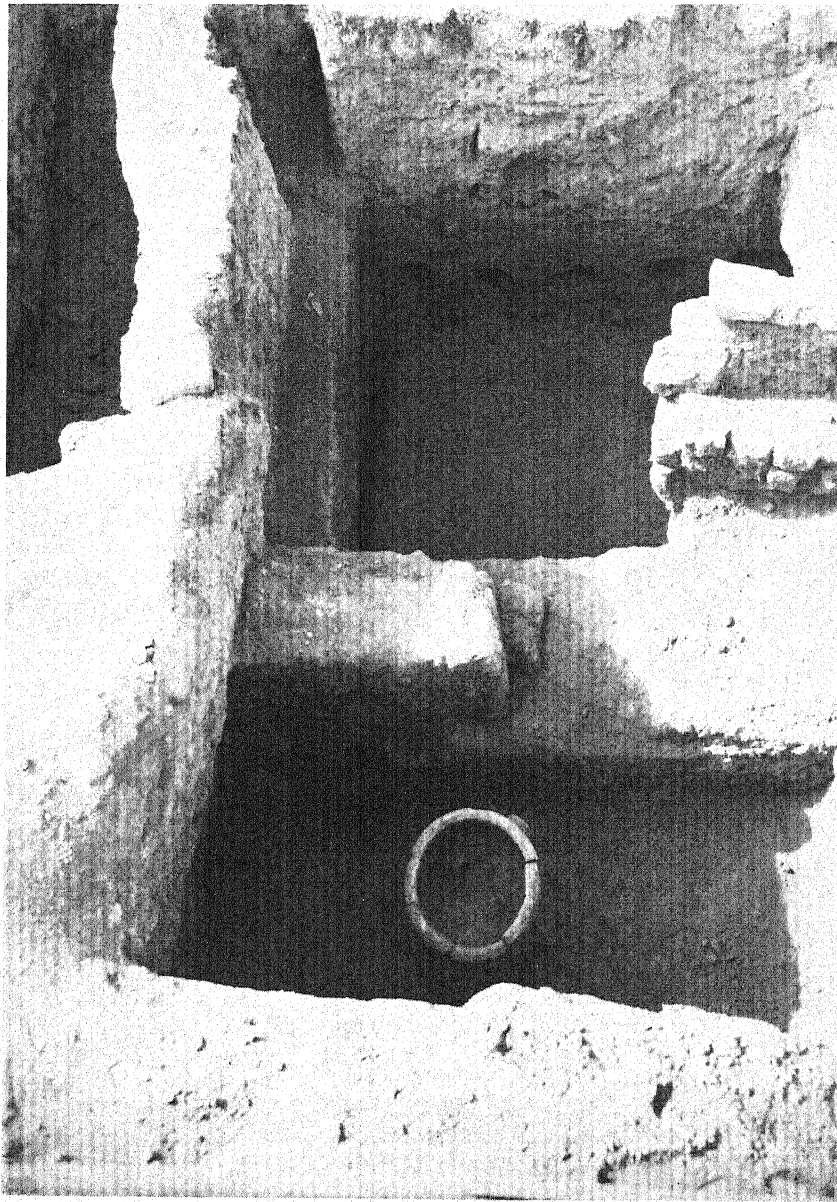


FIG. 83.—ROOMS OF PRIVATE HOUSES BENEATH THE SOUTHERN BUILDING, SHOWING IN N 34:11 A SHALLOW CYLINDRICAL VESSEL WITH SPOUT AND IN N 34:1-2 FIVE WALL SOCKETS; SEEN FROM WEST

in the old palace which consisted of the central court, the Throneroom, and the Great Hall (p. 27); while the group in squares P 33 and 34 of the Southern Building might correspond with the rooms and staircase which in the old palace were constructed on the northern side of the group just mentioned. The objections to a restoration of the Southern Building on the unit basis are that we have at present no other justification for it than this resemblance of architectural units and that the fact that such architectural units were used at all in planning implies the possibility that they may have been employed as groundwork for buildings independently of their function, so that a building ought to be reconstructed only when its function is definitely known.

In the group of private houses or other small buildings into which the foundations of the Southern Building were evidently dug, various features came to light which are worthy of mention.

In the first place baked bricks of the inscribed type occur in various places. The names on these are significant in that they make it quite clear that the area was covered with private houses only, right up to the time of Ibiqadad II. As mentioned on page 86, a pavement containing bricks inscribed with the name of Ibalpiel, the father of Ibiqadad II (bldg. inscr. No. 12), was found in N 33:2 (Fig. 79). One of these bricks had for some reason been cut into a perfect circle, with the inscription remaining intact exactly in the center. Lying upon this pavement we found a similarly inscribed brick measuring 51 cm. square—by far the largest inscribed brick yet found. Single bricks at various points (Q 32:6, Q 33:8, and O 33:11) bore the name of Belakum (bldg. inscr. No. 11). In Q 33:14 another pavement, draining to a pierced brick in the center (Fig. 80), contained bricks of Ibiqadad I (bldg. inscr. No. 9); and a brick dating from the time of Urningishzida (bldg. inscr. No. 8) formed part of a doorsill in O 33:3.

All these bricks had doubtless originally been intended for a more dignified purpose, but their presence here suggests that the smaller buildings in which they occur existed soon after the time of the kings whose names are mentioned upon them.

A large vertical drain (Fig. 81) consisting of three superimposed pottery sections cut into a wall between two private house rooms, Q 32:4 and 6. The situation of this drain in the exact center of Room I, one of the large rooms of the Southern Building, suggests that it was used in connection with the latter.

A small circular well of baked bricks in the center of one of the small rooms (XVIII) may also have belonged to the later building (Fig. 82). The bricks were uninscribed and were mostly broken fragments. The well was 1.70 meters deep, with a baked-brick floor at the bottom; the inside diameter was 63 cm.

In a room of one of the private houses, N 34:2, a series of five small sockets appeared in a wall a little above its base (Fig. 83), perhaps for beams to support a suspended floor. In the room to the west of this (N 33:11) was found a shallow cylindrical vessel with a short spout, seen in the foreground of Figure 83.

III

THE ORIENTATION OF THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE CHAPEL

BY GÜNTER MARTINY

Before we try to answer the question whether these temples of Tell Asmar (Eshnunna) possibly were oriented astronomically, it is first necessary to discuss briefly the present-day status of the entire question of orientation. Since the time when the first attempt was made to prove an orientation according to the stars for ancient Mesopotamia,¹ numerous articles, both for and against astronomical orientation, have appeared.² It may, however, be regarded today as firmly established that in the 3d millennium B.C., beginning in Assyria, astronomical orientation based on a definite circle of orientation in the sky was in practice. In Neo-Babylonian times orientation based on individual stars assigned to specific deities came into vogue in Babylonia. The Old Babylonian temples, however, because of their peculiar positions, still place certain difficulties in the way of assuming for them an astronomical orientation according to the Assyrian system. These difficulties have been investigated more in particular elsewhere.^{2a} At any rate, it is clearly recognizable even today that in the astronomical phase of Assyrian and Babylonian culture, as well as in other phases, certain differences exist. What is definitely and firmly established at present is the position of the celestial circle of orientation used by the Assyrians, which passed through the stars α Draconis, β Ursae minoris, γ Cephei, α Cassiopeiae, β Andromedae, ϑ Ceti and η Ursae maioris, α Virginis, γ Hydrae, β ($\alpha + \gamma$) Crucis. P. V. Neugebauer has recalculated its position and lists essentially the same stars.³ Neugebauer has likewise, though in a different way from mine, arrived at the definite conclusion that the date for making observations for orientation was the Assyrian New Year's Day and that the hour was that of sunrise. In Figure 84 we present our results in a graph of rectangular coordinates, in which the angle measuring the direction of orientation is plotted against time. The fact is thereby illustrated that the line of orientation does not remain stationary but increasingly deviates counterclockwise with the passage of time; that is, the later a temple is, the smaller becomes its angle of orientation. Astronomical orientation is therefore especially noticeable in the case of late temples. The direction of orientation should probably be understood as the direction in which the god's statue faced; it would contrast with the cult direction, that is, the direction in which the worshipers faced the god's statue. For at the Assyrian New Year the stars of orientation were visible in the southeast only, and it was only natural that the god's statue should be made to face in this direction. This necessarily resulted in a northwest cult direction and required the placing of the cella at the northwest end of the temple or

¹ Martiny, *Die Kultrichtung in Mesopotamien* ("Studien zur Bauforschung," hrsg. von der Koldewey-Gesellschaft, Heft 3 [Berlin, 1932]) and "Zur astronomischen Orientation altmesopotamischer Tempel," *Architectura* I (1933) 41-45.

² Cf. e.g. the reviews of *Die Kultrichtung* by the following: E. Zinner in *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* XXXII (1933) 90; V. Christian in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* LIV (1933) cols. 490-92; P. V. Neugebauer in *Astronomische Gesellschaft, Vierteljahrsschrift* LXIX (1934) 68-78 and in *ZA* XLII (1934) 198-204; A. Schott in *ZA* XLII 204-17; F. Weiszbach in *OLZ* XXXVII (1934) cols. 218-32; likewise Schott's article "Das Werden der babylonisch-assyrischen Positions-Astronomie und einige seiner Bedingungen," *ZDMG* LXXXVIII (1934) 302-37.

^{2a} Martiny in *OLZ* XLI (1938) 665-67.

³ *Astronomische Gesellschaft, Vierteljahrsschrift* LXIX (1934) 68-78; his order is α Draconis, β Ursae minoris, γ Cephei, α Cassiopeiae, β Andromedae, ϑ Ceti, $\alpha + \beta$ Crucis, γ Hydrae, α Virginis, η Ursae maioris.

sanctuary. We have, therefore, in indicating the angles of orientation, given them for both southeast and northwest. While the graph shows the angles of orientation of Assyrian temples only, it is valid also as a means for dating some other Mesopotamian temples.

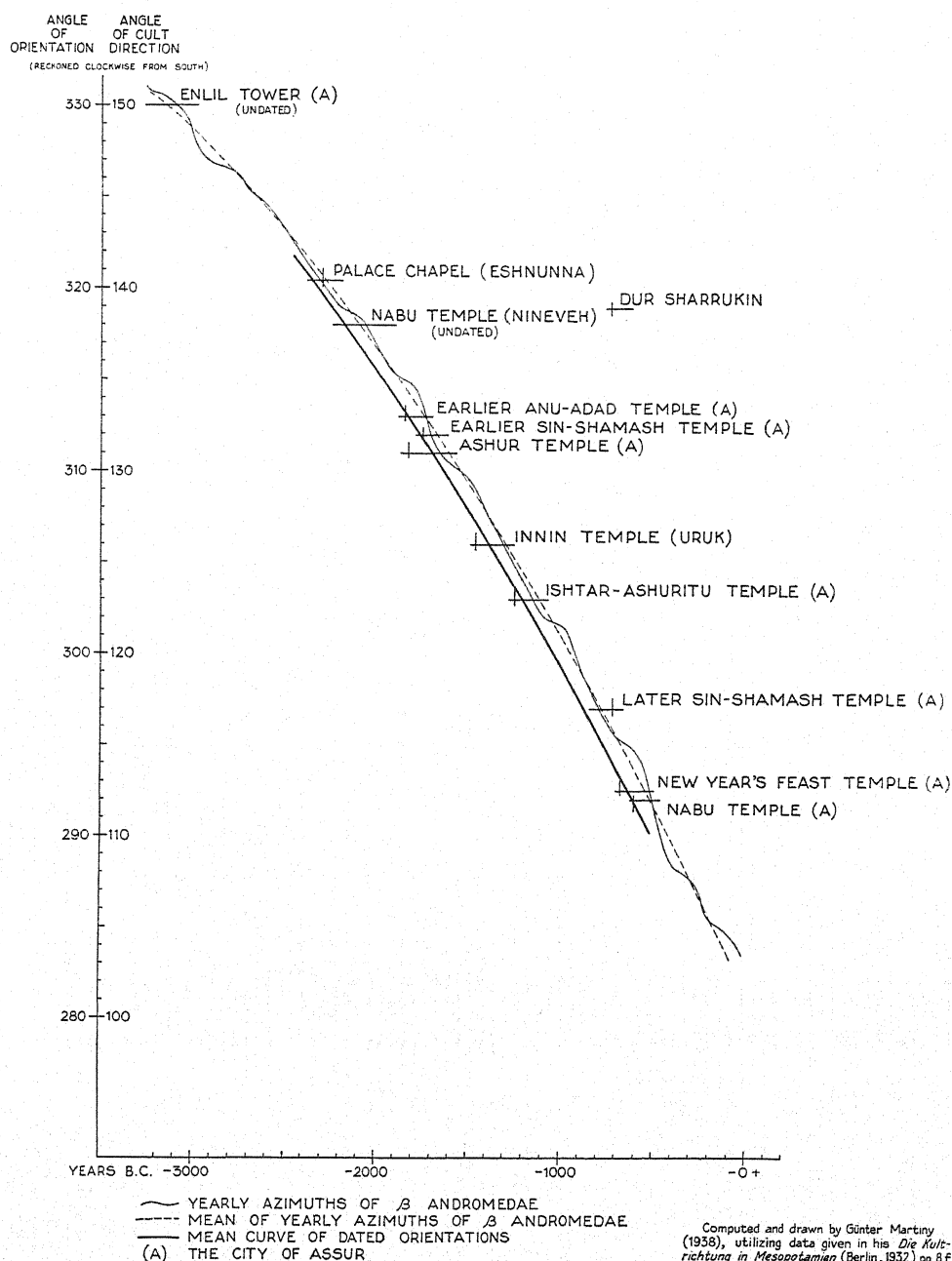


FIG. 84.—THE ANGLES OF ORIENTATION OF ASSYRIAN TEMPLES AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL EQUIVALENTS, ILLUSTRATING THE STEADY EASTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE DIRECTION OF ORIENTATION FROM 3000 TO 500 B.C.

DIRECTIONS OF ORIENTATION AND DATES OF CONSTRUCTION

The north direction given on the plan of the Gimilsin Temple and palace precincts of Tell Asmar (Pls. I-II) is, as communicated to me by H. Frankfort, that of the magnetic north during the season of 1929/30. According to the data of the Magnetisches Institut in Potsdam,

the deviation of the magnetic needle from true north for Tell Asmar during that season was 4° west. Thus the exact deviation of these temples from true north is ascertainable beyond dispute. Accordingly the direction of orientation of the Gimilsin Temple is:

Northeast wall of temple court	335.8°	} mean 334.9°
Axis of cult niche	334.7°	
Southwest wall of temple court	334.0°	

The direction of orientation of the palace chapel is:

Northeast wall of chapel court	320.0°	} mean 320.3°
Axis of cult niche	320.8°	
Southwest wall of chapel court	320.0°	

The ages of these temples were determined by the excavators on the basis of the archeological and inscriptional material. The Gimilsin Temple was constructed by Ituria, the ruler of Eshnunna under Gimilsin of Ur. The palace chapel is a later undertaking, perhaps begun by Ituria in the reign of Ibisin of Ur but, like the palace itself, completed by Ilushuilia, the son of Ituria. The above mentioned rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur reigned as follows:

Gimilsin	2317-2309 B.C.
Ibisin	2308-2283 B.C.

Ituria thus was still ruler of Eshnunna in 2308 B.C. At that time the construction of the Gimilsin Temple had been completed, while that of the palace chapel may have been begun.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO GROUND PLAN AND DIRECTION OF ORIENTATION

The Gimilsin Temple and the palace chapel are both regular Babylonian temples ("Tief-tempel"),⁴ evolved from the Babylonian house with court. Off a nearly square central court, opposite the main temple entrance, is a broad cella with the cult niche or false door (pp. 14 and 41 f.). The towers of the Gimilsin Temple are adorned with grooves and the walls with exterior projections and recesses, both in the manner of Babylonian architecture. The palace chapel has an antecella before the cella and shows alternating exterior projections and recesses only on the front, that is, on the southeast wall; there are, however, no temple towers. Both temples are only small structures when compared with other Babylonian temples.⁵

These points of similarity with the Babylonian temples are offset by an important difference, namely with regard to the direction of orientation and the cult direction. In the Babylonian temples the direction of orientation is usually northeast with the cult direction southwest; in the Tell Asmar temples under discussion the direction of orientation is southeast and the cult direction northwest—the directions usual in Assyrian temples. We thus have in these Tell Asmar temples two buildings with Babylonian ground plans but Assyrian directions of orientation. The same situation is met with again, according to the present state of our knowledge, only at Ur in the so-called "Harbour Temple" of Neo-Babylonian date⁶ and in the

⁴ Martiny, *Die Gegensätze im babylonischen und assyrischen Tempelbau*, "Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," XXI 3 (Leipzig, 1936) pp. 7-11.

⁵ Cf. Martiny, *Die Kultrichtung in Mesopotamien*, Pls. 7-14.

⁶ Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1929-30," *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930) 319-21 and Pl. XXXV a.

temple é - DUB·LAL - m a h from about 2000 B.C.⁷ Both of these temples have been dealt with by me elsewhere.⁸

The palace of the rulers, which is situated between the Gimilsin Temple and the palace chapel, is conceived along purely Assyrian lines. Like all known Assyrian palaces it is essentially a "Herdhaus."⁹ The narrow Throneroom is situated to the northeast of the palace court. From the Throneroom a doorway leads through a vestibule to the Great Hall (Pl. II), around which lie many inner chambers that may have served as government offices. The palace shows no Babylonian frontal architecture.

RELATIONSHIPS TO THE SYSTEM OF ASTRONOMICAL ORIENTATION

In Tell Asmar we are confronted with two temples that do not conform in ground plan and direction of orientation with the other Mesopotamian temples, and hence it appears advisable to approach the problem of their astronomical orientation with special reserve. Since the Assyrian palace and the palace chapel belong together directionally and structurally, it seems justifiable to make our first attempt to prove an astronomical orientation on the basis of the Assyrian system with the palace chapel. Its angle of orientation, as stated on page 94 and shown in Figure 84, is approximately 320°, and Figure 84 shows its age to be about 2300 B.C. On the basis of archeological and inscriptional material its age has been set by the excavators at about 2308 B.C. (see p. 94). We thus have practically no difference between the age determined archeologically and that arrived at astronomically. The result is exceptionally favorable to our view and establishes the fact that the palace chapel was astronomically oriented according to the Assyrian system,¹⁰ even though at the time of its building Eshnunna belonged politically to the Babylonian South. This observation indicates that the political liege lords at Ur demanded Babylonian temples and that the ruler of Eshnunna built them according to the Babylonian plan but constructed the palace along Assyrian lines and oriented the palace chapel according to the Assyrian system.

The case of the Gimilsin Temple appears to be otherwise. If we should enter the angle of its direction of orientation (approximately 335°) on Figure 84, a very high age, up in the 4th millennium, would be indicated. The age determined by the excavator is, however, approximately 2309 B.C., this being the first year in which a mention of Ituria occurs. This amounts to an error of more than 10°. Since the presence of older temple foundations under the existing walls could not be established (see pp. 23 and 26), astronomical orientation according to the Assyrian system seems to be out of the question. In the Gimilsin Temple we are thus confronted with a dated structure the ground plan of which is indisputably Babylonian, but which is oriented neither toward the northeast in Babylonian fashion nor in agreement with the usual Assyrian system.

In this situation a different kind of observation may perhaps give us the proper basis for discussion. Exactly along the projected axis of the Gimilsin Temple in the direction in which the god's statue faced, at a distance of about 300 km. toward the southeast, lies Ur, the residence of Gimilsin. Is it possible that the deified ruler, in whose honor the temple in Eshnunna

⁷ *Ibid.* V (1925) 376-97 and Figs. 5 and 6.

⁸ *Die Kultrichtung in Mesopotamien*, pp. 6 and 9.

⁹ Cf. Martiny, *Die Gegensätze im babylonischen und assyrischen Tempelbau*, pp. 12-13, and Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient*, pp. 18 f.

¹⁰ Quite definite indications of close connections between Eshnunna and the North and East (in contrast to the South) have been found in the course of the excavations; see pp. 4 and 125. Cf. also AS No. 6, Foreword and pp. 29-35; OIC No. 13, p. 36; and OIC No. 16, p. 46.



was to be built during his lifetime, had demanded orientation of the temple toward Ur? The Gimilsin Temple possessed no ziggurat with a holy of holies.¹¹ The holy of holies was the palace in Ur where the divine ruler dwelt. His temple in the border district was therefore oriented toward Ur. A corresponding observation has been made in the case of the Enki temple in Ur.¹²

These temples at Tell Asmar are, therefore, important examples for the investigation of the problem of orientation. The palace chapel with the palace confirms my theory of astronomical orientation; the Gimilsin Temple confronts us with what appears to be a case of geographical orientation toward the capital of the overlord.

¹¹ Cf. Martiny, *Die Gegensätze im babylonischen und assyrischen Tempelbau*, pp. 3-5 and 11 f.

¹² Cf. Martiny in *OLZ* XLI 667.

IV

THE AUDIENCE HALL OF NARAMSIN AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS

BY THORKILD JACOBSEN

In the course of the work of the first two seasons a thick buttressed wall was discovered inclosing the palace complex on the east side (cf. pp. 69 and 74 and Pl. V). This wall was traced for a short distance southward from square P 29; but north of this square, where the wall disappeared beneath our dump, its course was still unknown. In the season of 1933/34, when work was resumed on this part of the tell, this inclosure wall seemed a promising point at which to begin; so men were placed on the northern side of the dump in line with the wall, in the hope of picking it up there. Instead of the wall, however, these men found a building, the Audience Hall of Naramsin (Pl. XII), which forms the main subject of this chapter. Not until later, when the Naramsin building had been cleared and we were working back toward the palace area, did we learn what had happened to the buttressed wall from which we had started. However, inasmuch as this wall and the building which it incloses form the connecting link between the palace complex and the Naramsin building, the discussion of the latter should perhaps begin here.

THE URNINMAR BUILDING

It will be remembered from Mr. Lloyd's description (chap. ii) that the eastern and the western part of the palace complex are somewhat differently oriented. The buttressed wall just mentioned, which forms the eastern limit of the complex, naturally follows the orientation of the eastern part (Pl. XII). From square P 29, where work had ceased in the first season, the wall runs north-northwest to beyond the center of P 28 (see Fig. 87). Here, however, the buttresses stop and the wall turns due north to a corner in P 27. From this corner the line of the wall follows an irregular curve, running first in a northwesterly, then in a southwesterly, direction through O 27 into O 28. From there it runs straight in a southwesterly direction almost parallel to the north wall of the western part of the palace complex. Instead of an acute angle (as might have been expected), the northeast corner of the palace complex thus forms an irregular projection (Pl. XII). The reasons for the irregularity are hardly to be sought within the building itself. But along the northwestern side of the building runs a street which, in square O 28, curves northward. Most likely it was a wish to utilize the additional space thus available which was responsible for the peculiar shape of the corner.

Since our chief purpose in excavating this building was to establish a connection with the areas dug during the first two seasons, only the rooms along the outside of the building were cleared, and no attempt was made to descend deeper than the original floor level. This was at about 33.10 meters, varying a little on either side.

The rooms excavated form two separate complexes; on one side P 28:2 and the rooms adjoining it on the north, on the other O 28:2 and 4. Locus P 28:2, to which there is access from the inside of the building only, is a large room or court. In the center of the east wall, the outside wall of the building, there is at floor level a short row of fragmentary baked bricks suggesting the sill of a doorway. When tested, however, the wall proved to be quite solid and

well bonded. The bricks bore the stamp of Ibiqadad I (bldg. inser. No. 9). Otherwise the room had no distinctive features. From P 28:2 a doorway in the north wall leads into O 28:5. This doorway was originally closed with a door, as shown by the pivot stone of baked brick which we found at the northern jamb. Since doors inside a building are not usual, this arrangement suggests that P 28:2 was a court open to the sky. Another peculiarity of the doorway is the small screen built out from its western jamb. Evidently the available door was not wide enough to fill the unusually large doorway, so this expedient was resorted to.

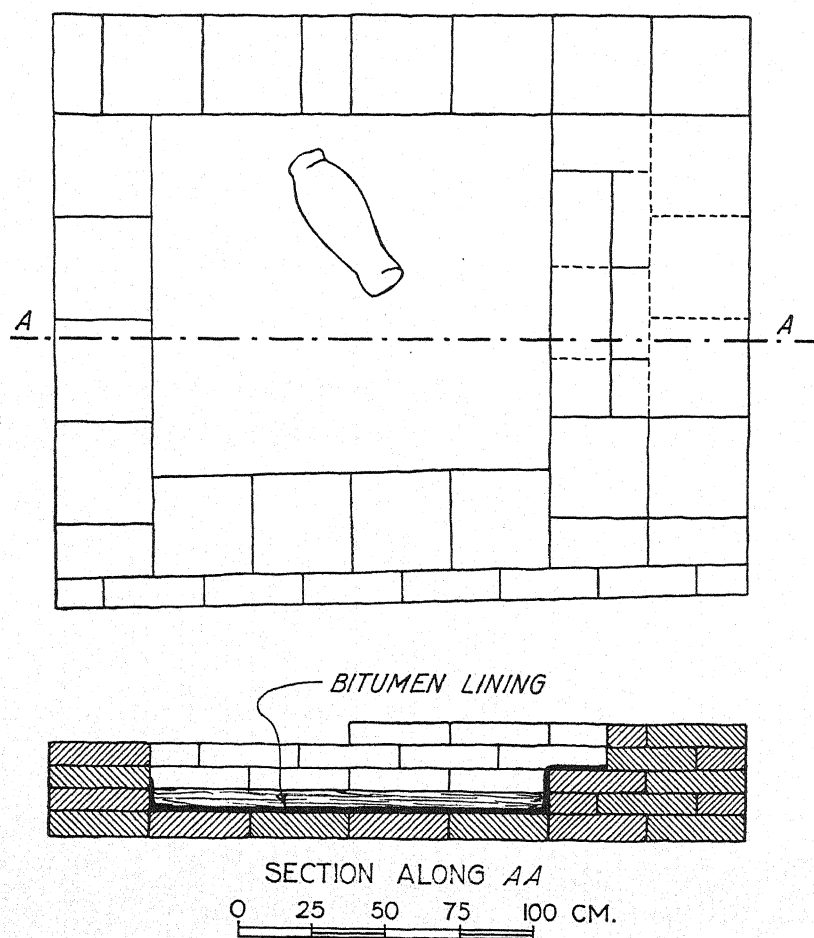


FIG. 85.—BATH IN O 28:3, BUILT OF IBALPIEL I BRICKS. SCALE, 1:25

From O 28:5 a narrow doorway leads off to the right into a curious polygonal room (P 28:1); another, opposite the entrance, gives access to O 28:3. The north wall of these rooms is preserved only to a height of some 40 cm.; the upper part had been cut away for a later rebuilding at level 33.60. To some such rebuilding belong, perhaps, the short block of masonry and the brick filling behind it which obstruct the once free space between this wall and the adjacent one of Naramsin. In the north corner of room O 28:3, at the main floor level of the building, the original wall is pierced by a drain built of Urninmar bricks (bldg. inser. No. 7); higher up in the room, at a level corresponding to that of the rebuilding of the north wall, appeared a square basin built of Ibalpiel I baked bricks and coated on the inside with bitumen, obviously a bath (Fig. 85). In the basin lay a fair-sized jar of a well known Larsa type, which may have

been used to fill and empty the basin or, since the basin is rather shallow, to pour water over the bather. Near the basin, at the same level, was a toilet—a small brick pavement covering a vertical pottery drain. The pavement, like the basin, was built of bricks carrying the stamp of Ibalpiel I (bldg. inscr. No. 12). At his time, therefore, the room must have been adapted as a combined toilet and bathroom.

Southwest of O 28:3 and 5, but not connected with them, lie two rooms, O 28:2 and 4. The latter, which was only partly cleared, has a doorway leading to the street north of the building. Through this doorway runs a well constructed covered drain (Fig. 86) built of Urninmar bricks (bldg. inscr. No. 7), which slopes downward from the southwestern part of the room toward the doorway. In the course of time many of the bricks had been removed, but enough remain to show that the drain passed through the sill and out into the street. Here it seems to have continued as an open gutter, for the bottom of the wall to the northeast of the doorway is protected by a baked-brick facing which is only in this way explicable. Besides the doorway to the street, O 28:1, room O 28:4 has a doorway leading into O 28:2. The southern jamb of this doorway has been cut away by a later wall.

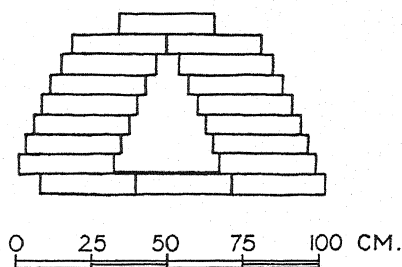


FIG. 86.—CROSS-SECTION OF BRICK DRAIN IN O 28:4. SCALE, 1:25

The date of the building to which the foregoing rooms belong can be fixed without difficulty. The drains in O 28:3 and 4 and the brick facing along the street wall are built exclusively of Urninmar bricks, and the building must accordingly have been constructed under that ruler. As evidenced by the broken fragments lining the east wall in P 28:2, the building was still in use under Urninmar's son, Ibiqadad I. This agrees with such evidence as we have from the area just to the south, excavated in the first season; for here we found the tomb (O 29:1) of Urningishzida, who was Urninmar's contemporary and probably his brother and successor,¹ and the tomb (P 29:1) of Ibiqadad I, Urninmar's son.²

The rebuilding of which we found traces in O 28:3 and P 28:1 can also be dated fairly accurately, for as mentioned above it is contemporary with the brick basin and pavement in O 28:3, both of which contain bricks with the stamp of Ibalpiel I, the sixth ruler after Ibiqadad I.

While the date of the Urninmar building is thus clear, its function must for the present remain an open question. Its situation as part of the palace complex (see Pl. XII), its well built drains, the thickness of its walls, etc. all go to show that we are dealing with an official building. The buttressed east wall furthermore suggests that it had some religious function. Since, however, only one of the walls has this treatment, it is hardly right to assume that the building served as a temple. Against such an assumption, moreover, the irregularity of the plan and of the rooms themselves might justly be cited. In all probability, therefore, the buttressing of the east wall signifies only that the building contained one or two small sanctuaries situated along its eastern side, and we must then content ourselves with defining it as a building of official character containing probably one or more sacred rooms.³

¹ *OIC* No. 13, pp. 33 f. See also pp. 119 f. of the present volume.

² In the opinion of the writer this interpretation of the "pits" described by Mr. Lloyd is certain.

³ If the rooms with the tombs are the sacred rooms in question, we must assume that the sanctity of the rooms was primary, the tombs secondary; for the building, including its east wall, was constructed by Urninmar, i.e., earlier than both Urningishzida and Ibiqadad I.

THE AUDIENCE HALL OF NARAMSIN

North of the Urninmar building and adjacent to it lies a structure of different character, the Audience Hall of Naramsin (Figs. 87-88).

STRATIGRAPHY

When this building was first excavated we were able to trace only its outside. The inside of the building appeared as a solid, even floor of unbaked mud bricks. It was clear, accordingly, that the walls of the building had been destroyed down to floor level; and in the flat, even terrace which remained it was not possible to distinguish the bricks of the original walls from those of the mud-brick floors.

The fact, however, that on the outside of the building T-shaped vertical grooves (Fig. 89), which were evidently meant to show above ground, started from a lower level (33.90) than that of the mud-brick floor which we had found (34.30) suggested the existence of a second, lower floor. We therefore pierced the upper floor in a few places, and some 50 cm. below we found a second pavement (Fig. 90), which—as it subsequently turned out—could be dated to the time of Naramsin (level 33.80).

To our surprise, however, the filling between the two floors did not, as is usually the case, consist of tamped earth, but appeared to be solid mud brick. This was distinctly disadvantageous. The building, lying directly on the surface of the tell, had been exposed to the weather for centuries, and, as a result of rain water filtering down through them, the mud bricks of the walls and of the filling had deteriorated into a more or less homogeneous mass in which the original wall faces were not easy to distinguish. By working slowly, however, we succeeded first in tracing the walls and later in cleaning single bricks in the filling. It then appeared that the original floor level of Naramsin had been raised at some later date with whole mud bricks placed on edge (Fig. 91). The spaces between these were filled with lumps of clay, and upon this foundation the upper mud-brick pavement was then laid. This method of raising floors is not unfamiliar. A similar procedure was employed in the tomb of Shulgi at Ur, which was refloored because the original pavement was found to be below water level.⁴ As a still older example the flooring of the Sumerian palace at Kish might be mentioned, although there this method seems to have been used for the original floors.⁵

The reason why the Naramsin building had had to be refloored became evident as excavation proceeded; the building had settled to such an extent that the pavements instead of being flat presented an undulating surface (Figs. 92 and 93; cf. p. 106). The date when this reflooring took place can be fixed only approximately. Within the filling we found a few baked bricks bearing the stamps of two hitherto unknown rulers, Iqishtishpak and Šillisin (bldg. insers. Nos. 16-17). Although their place in the king list cannot yet be established exactly, at least they seem to have reigned later than Ibalpiel II (see pp. 121 f.). We may, therefore, provisionally place the reflooring at some ten to twenty years after Ibalpiel II, but it is possible that it was still later.

The original floor of the Naramsin building, which corresponds in level with the bottoms of the vertical T-shaped recesses on the outside of the building (Fig. 90), was datable from pavements of inscribed bricks found in P 27:2 and outside of P 27:3 and 6 (Fig. 92). The bricks of these pavements all bore the stamp of Naramsin, son of Ibiqadad II (bldg. inscr. No. 14). Moreover, the bricks used in two rectangular pedestals flanking the main gateway of the building (Figs. 93 and 94) bore this stamp. It can therefore be considered as certain that the building

⁴ See Woolley in *Antiquaries Journal* XI (1931) 352.

⁵ See Ernest Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia* (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology, Memoirs" I 2 [Chicago, 1929]) p. 95.

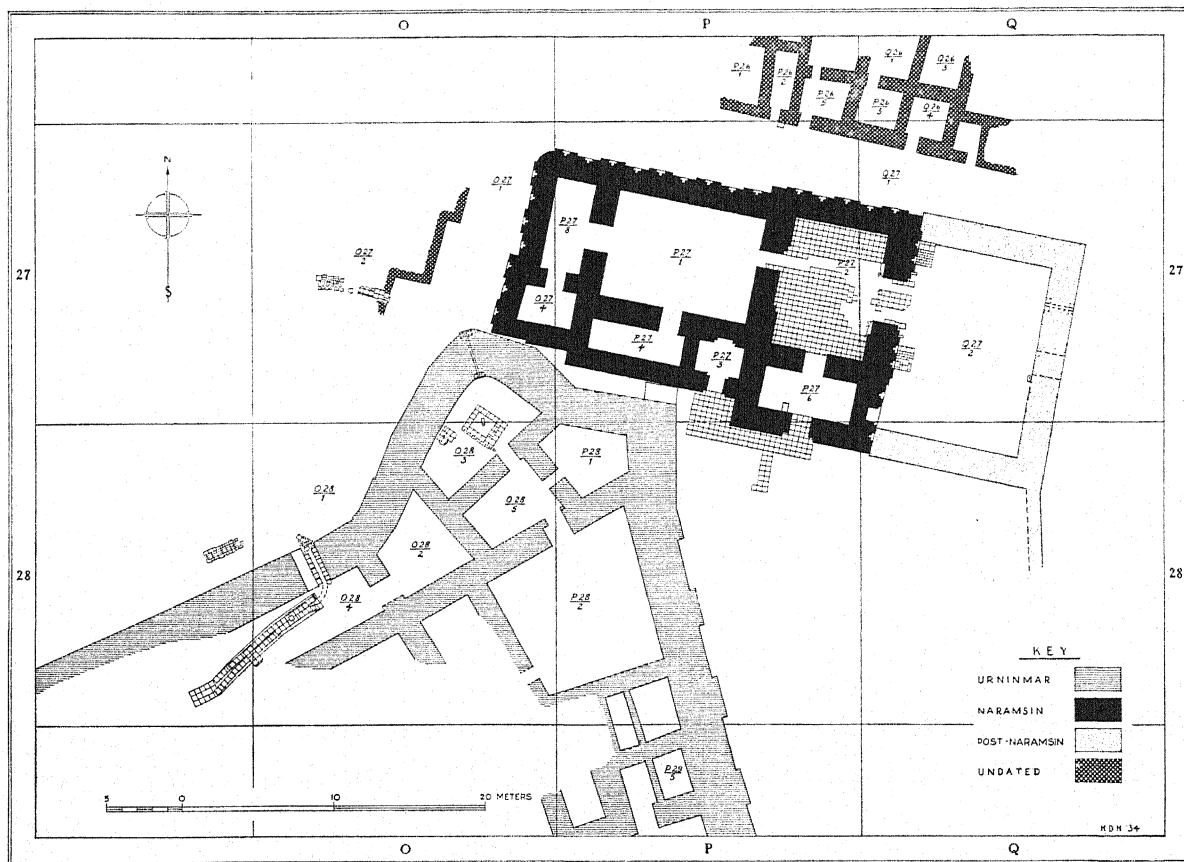


FIG. 87.—PLAN OF NARAMSIN'S AUDIENCE HALL. SCALE, 1:500

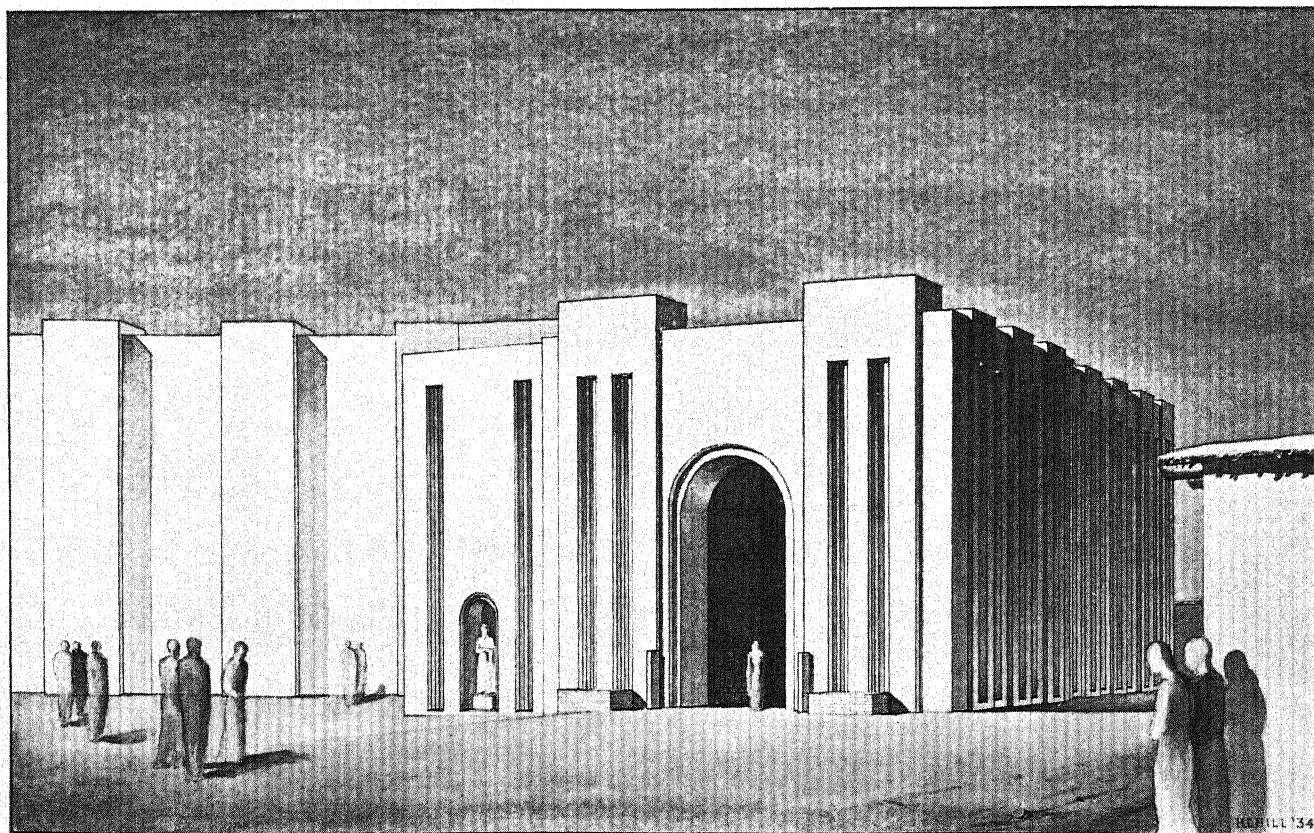


FIG. 88.—NARAMSIN'S AUDIENCE HALL BEFORE INCLOSURE OF THE COURT; AT LEFT, WALL OF URNINMAR BUILDING; SEEN FROM NORTH OF EAST. RESTORED BY HAROLD D. HILL

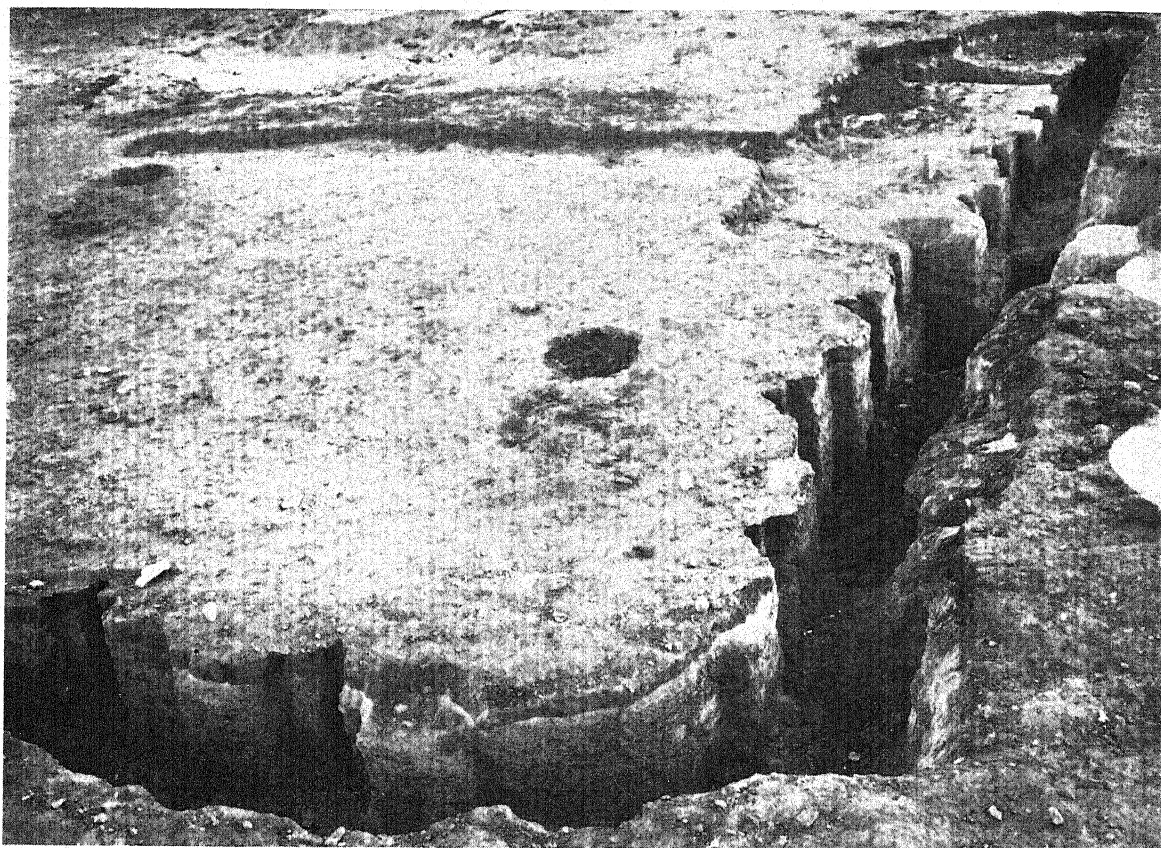


FIG. 89.—NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE AUDIENCE HALL AT AN EARLY STAGE OF EXCAVATION



FIG. 90.—VIEW OF THE AUDIENCE HALL FROM THE WEST AFTER EXCAVATION TO NARAMSIN'S FLOOR LEVEL



FIG. 91.—MUD BRICKS PLACED ON EDGE TO RAISE THE FLOOR LEVEL OF THE AUDIENCE HALL, IN DOORWAY BETWEEN P 27:1 AND P 27:8



FIG. 92.—PAVEMENT OF NARAMSIN OUTSIDE THE SOUTHERN ENTRANCE (IN FOREGROUND) AND IN ROOM P 27:2 (AT RIGHT IN MIDDLE DISTANCE) OF HIS AUDIENCE HALL, SEEN FROM SOUTH



FIG. 93.—THE AUDIENCE HALL CLEARED TO THE NARAMSIN LEVEL; IN FOREGROUND, THE OUTER COURT ON THE EAST

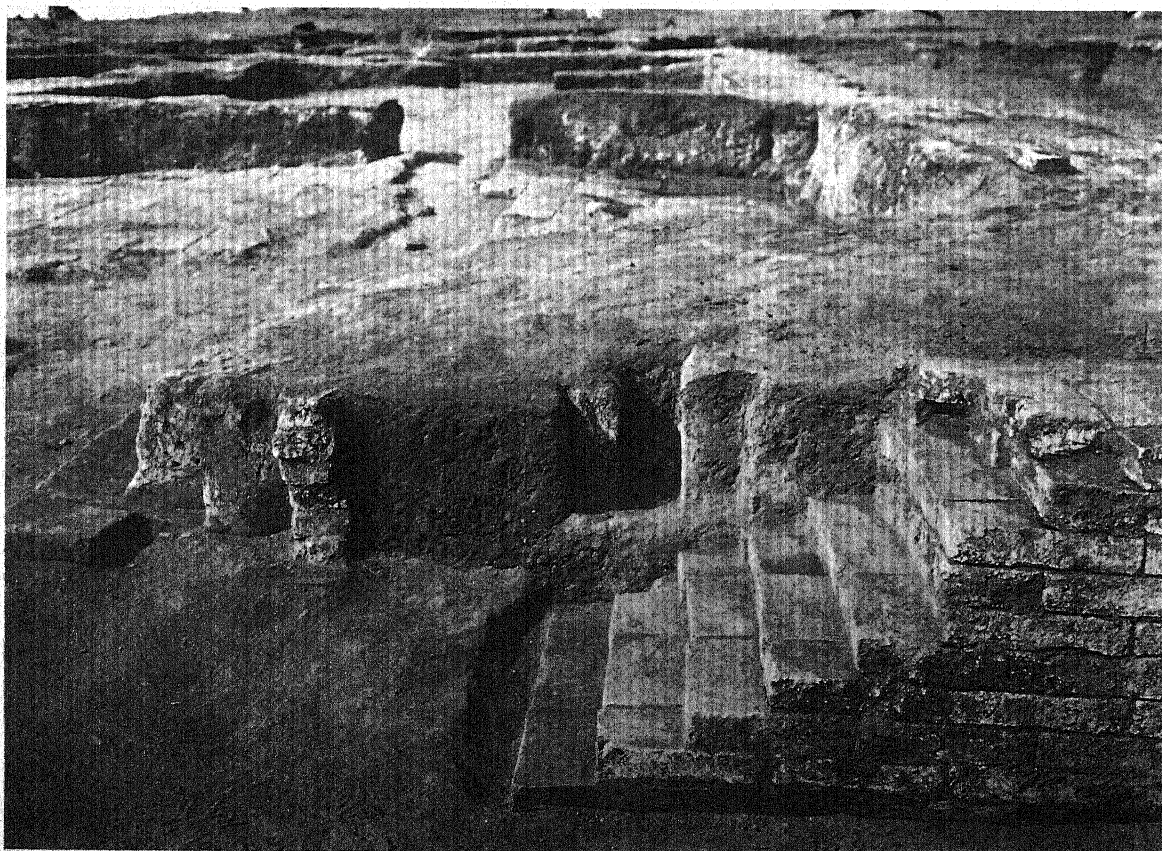


FIG. 94.—PEDESTAL BESIDE NORTH JAMB OF THE MAIN GATEWAY OF THE AUDIENCE HALL, SEEN FROM EAST

was constructed by Naramsin. Belonging to the same floor level, but somewhat later than the building itself, is the court Q 27:2 (Fig. 93).

In only a few places did we penetrate beneath the Naramsin level. Below the building itself we found rooms with thin walls, obviously belonging to private houses. The main floor level of this stratum was 33.10; it thus corresponds with the floor level of the Urninmar building. These private houses may perhaps be dated to approximately the period of Urninmar; but since the floor level generally rises more rapidly in private houses than in official buildings the correspondence between the Urninmar building and the private houses under the Audience Hall need not mean that they were absolutely contemporary.

Below P 27:2, at about 32.30, we cleared a small area designated as P 27:9 (not marked on plan). At this level, the lowest we reached in this area, bricks with the stamp of a ruler named Ibalpiel (bldg. inscr. No. 12a) were found under one of the walls below P 27:2. We have—with some hesitancy—assigned these bricks to Ibalpiel I (see p. 138); but the identification must be considered highly uncertain. Since only a few walls were cleared, the character of the buildings at this level could not be ascertained. In any case they differed completely from the structure with which we are dealing here.

PLAN

The site on which the Audience Hall stands was bounded toward the southwest by the irregular wall of the Urninmar building, toward the west by a curved street (O 27:1), and toward the north by a straight street, Q 27:1 (Fig. 95). To the east and southeast it seems to have had no definite limit.

The somewhat irregular shape of the plot has obviously conditioned the plan of the Audience Hall (Fig. 87), intended by the builder to consist of a series of parallel rectangular units. The broadest of these is the one farthest east, where there was ample space at his disposal; it consists of the rooms P 27:2 and 6. When, however, the middle section (P 27:1, 3, and 4) is reached, the space has already become restricted by the adjacent Urninmar building, and the southern wall of the Audience Hall recedes accordingly. In the western section (P 27:8 and O 27:4), where the Urninmar building curves out strongly, the width is still further reduced, and for the second time a recession of the south wall was necessitated.

The curved western boundary of the site presented a further problem. The architect solved it by bending the west wall slightly at the middle and letting the part south of this point project somewhat, so that it gives the impression of a tower. This makes the bend less noticeable from the outside, but inside the building it is reflected clearly in the irregular shape of room O 27:4 (Fig. 90, at right).

The main entrance to the building was in later times through the court Q 27:2. The wall of this court (Fig. 93) is without decoration of any sort. It measured 2 meters in thickness, but has nevertheless suffered a considerable amount of denudation, especially on the east side, where the gate originally was. Here the wall is preserved to a height of only 10 cm. above floor level, which means that it has been denuded down to the level of the doorsill, so that the gateway itself has disappeared. That a gate originally existed here is proved, however, by a pivot stone. If, as seems likely, the gateway was centered in the wall, we can judge its width from the position of the pivot stone; Mr. Hill has adopted this theory in drawing Figure 87.

Where the court wall joins the building the wall is built up against the façade with no attempt at bonding. The plaster on the outside of Naramsin's wall runs through unbroken, and a vertical T-shaped groove also runs down behind the court wall. This would hardly have been the case had the court wall and the Audience Hall been built at the same time. We may therefore conclude that the court was a later addition to the building. This is borne out by the fact that the foundation of the court wall was considerably higher than that of the temple.

North of the gateway the eastern wall of the court was pierced by a small drain of baked bricks to carry off water. This drain included a few baked bricks which have the stamp of a ruler Ibalpiel, in contrast to the bricks used in the Audience Hall itself, which have the stamp of Naramsin (bldg. inscr. No. 14). Since this Ibalpiel stamp corresponds in every detail with that of Naramsin's grandfather, Ibalpiel I (bldg. inscr. No. 12), it seems probable that the bricks here appear in secondary use.⁶

Before the court was added, one entered the Audience Hall directly through a gateway in the east wall which opens into room P 27:2, obviously the most important room in the build-



FIG. 95.—STREET NORTH OF THE AUDIENCE HALL, WITH AUDIENCE HALL ON LEFT AND PRIVATE HOUSES ON RIGHT; SEEN FROM SOUTHEAST

ing. The room is rectangular in shape, of the "Breitraum" type (cf. p. 111), and is paved to its full extent with baked bricks bearing the stamp of Naramsin. The pavement extends through the gateway and through a doorway in the west wall. The surface of the pavement when found was no longer flat, but presented a violently undulating appearance; the difference in level varied as much as 18 cm. in 4 square meters (Figs. 92, 93, and 95). This condition of the pavement had been caused by a gradual settling of the walls after the building was finished, and it was noticeable that the weight of the walls had forced the pavement down all along the sides (Fig. 93). The damage caused to the pavements by this settling must have been the chief reason why in later times it became necessary to refloor the whole building.

In the west wall, opposite the gateway and corresponding to it in position, is a shallow niche

⁶ The possibility that the bricks belong to Ibalpiel II and that the court wall was added by him seems remote, since the brick stamp used by him differed considerably from the impressions on the bricks with which we are dealing.

(Fig. 93). Of this we were able to trace only the southern rebate; the mud bricks of the northern one formed a homogeneous mass with the brick filling used to raise the floor of the room, so that, although we knew where it should appear, it was impossible to recognize the wall face. Fortunately, however, there can be no doubt whatever of its existence, for its outline is plainly indicated by the edge of the pavement at this point. Some 50 cm. in front of this northern rebate a foundation deposit box of baked bricks was let into the pavement. The box had been opened and emptied in antiquity, and on the south side we looked in vain for a corresponding feature.

In the northern half of the niche is a paved doorway leading to P 27:1, a large room which communicates with the smaller rooms P 27:4 and 8 and (through P 27:8) with O 27:4. None of these rooms was paved, nor had they any special features worth mentioning. A cylinder seal, As. 33:385, was found in P 27:8, and in P 27:4 were fragments of a worked band of metal. P 27:1 may suggest a court rather than a room, but since it had an ordinary mud floor and no drainage of any sort this is improbable.

The main gateway in P 27:2 is not the only entrance to the Audience Hall. Approaching from the south, a footpath paved with Naramsin bricks leads up to a small rebated doorway which opens into room P 27:6 (Fig. 92). The doorway is paved, but the room has an ordinary mud floor. We found traces here of a later baked-brick doorsill also, of the period when the building was refloored. To the left of the doorway as one enters is a small screen wall built of mud bricks and belonging to the Naramsin period. From P 27:6 a doorway in the north wall leads into the main room, P 27:2, which has already been described.

Outside of P 27:6 the pavement in which the footpath ends continues westward along the outside wall of the building to a second rebated doorway, which gives access to a small square room, P 27:3. That this room, which does not communicate with the inside of the building at all, must have been a small chapel is shown by a niche in the north wall opposite the doorway. On the surface near by was picked up a fragment of a stela (As. 33:361) dedicated to [*tīšpak šar ma-at*] *wa-ri'-[im]* *be-el 'āš-nun'-[na^{ki}]*, "Tishpak, king of the land of Warum, lord of Eshnunna" (Fig. 96). It is highly probable that the stela came from this room and, when complete, stood in the niche.

The isolated position of this small chapel calls for an explanation. As shown by the pavement connecting them, the chapel had some relation to the entrance through P 27:6. It seems likely, therefore, that it was a sort of small gateway chapel in which persons entering from the south might prepare themselves, by prayer, for their duties in the main building. That the chapel communicates with the entrance along a pavement outside the building and not, as seems more logical, through a doorway in the west wall of P 27:6 is explained by the fact that the two rooms are not on the same axis, so that there would hardly be room for a door here.

ELEVATION

The walls of the Audience Hall are nowhere preserved to more than 50 cm. above ground. Their original height must therefore remain hypothetical. In his reconstruction (Fig. 88) Mr. Hill assumes a general height of about 10 meters to be the most probable, considering the proportions of the building as a whole and the comparative thinness of the outer walls, some of which measure only 1.40 m. The only exceptions to this are thicker sections of the east wall, one at each side of the gateway; these sections, which probably stood up higher, suggest gate towers.

The decoration of the outside wall of the building on the north, east, and west sides consists of buttresses and vertical T-shaped grooves (Fig. 89), the typical mural decoration of a Babylonian temple. Only the south side, which was partly hidden by the adjacent Urninmar build-

ing, is undecorated. On the west and north sides, where the scheme of decoration is simplest, buttresses and recesses alternate along the façade. Each buttress and each recess has in the middle a single T-shaped groove starting from ground level. In Figure 88 Mr. Hill has shown these T-shaped grooves not as running through to the top of the building but as panels closed at the top with horizontal bands of masonry, thus producing a treatment less susceptible to the effects of weathering.⁷ The bonding used is shown in Figure 97. It will be noted that the masons used both half and whole bricks, which they cut to shape. The brickwork was covered with a layer of mud plaster 5 cm. thick.

At the northeast corner of the building the distance from the actual corner to the nearest buttress on either side is two-thirds the normal width of a recess. This same proportion gov-

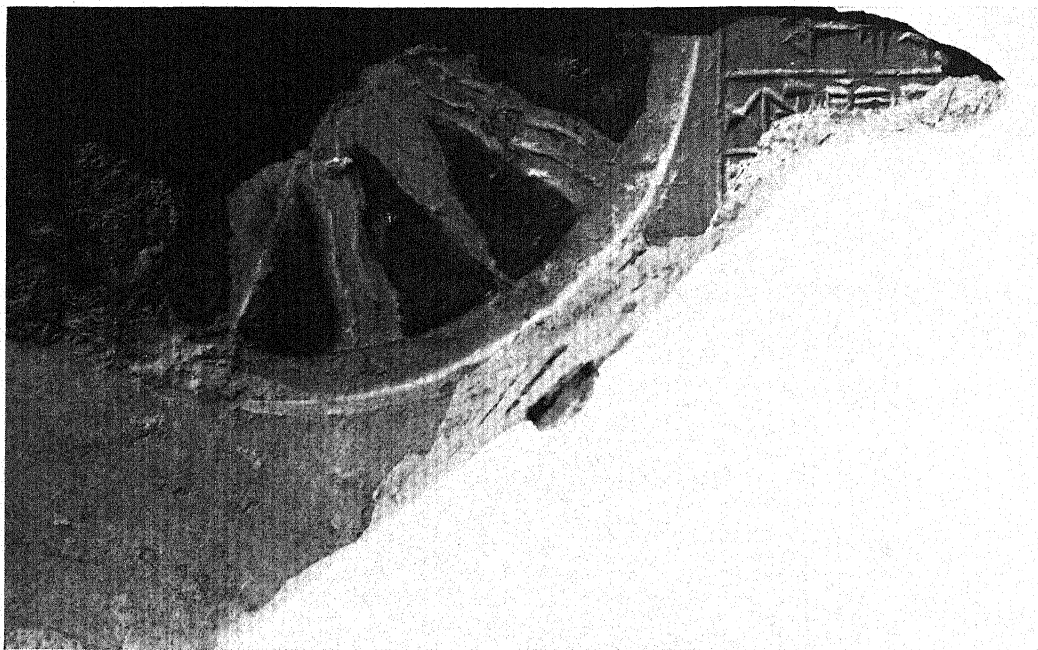


FIG. 96.—FRAGMENT OF A WHITE LIMESTONE STELA (AS. 33:361) DEDICATED TO TISHPAK, FOUND SOUTH OF THE AUDIENCE HALL. SCALE, 2:3

erns the radius of the segmental curve forming the northwest corner (Fig. 89). At the southwest corner the distance from buttress to corner is only one-third the width of a recess; and at the southeast corner the whole scheme of decoration was altered in order to emphasize the main (i.e., the eastern) gateway.

In regard to the northwest corner it should be noted that a corner of exactly similar shape was found on the *kisû* of Ituria's temple to Gimilsin (p. 13 and Fig. 5), whereas round corners on the Third Dynasty mausoleum in Ur curve from the faces of the neighboring buttresses and not from their inside corners.⁸ In secular architecture rounded corners are frequently found on private houses situated at street corners. Examples from the Larsa period were found at Tell Asmar not far from the Audience Hall, and numerous later examples of similar nature oc-

⁷ This reconstruction is suggested by a pictorial representation also; see Austen Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1853) fig. on p. 647, taken from *idem*, *The Monuments of Nineveh, Second Series* (London, 1853) Pl. 40, and reproduced by Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I* (Heidelberg, 1925) 279, Fig. 88. For an actual occurrence of crosswise bands at the top (at Khorsabad) see now *OIP* XL, Pl. 13 D and p. 39.

⁸ Woolley, *op. cit.* p. 346 and Pl. XLV.

curred in Babylon.⁹ Dr. Reuther explains these rounded corners as due to the fact that in oriental cities, where pedestrians are liable to be shoved over against the wall by passing donkeys, sheep, etc., a sharp corner might prove dangerous. It also seems obvious that a sharp corner in such a position would soon become damaged. If this explanation is valid, the occurrence of only this one rounded corner in the Naramsin building is naturally accounted for; for it is the only one in the building which is at the same time a street corner.

The scheme of alternating buttresses and recesses is broken on the east side of the Audience Hall in order to emphasize the main gateway which is situated here. We thus find on either



FIG. 97.—NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE AUDIENCE HALL, WITH PLASTER REMOVED TO SHOW BONDING OF BRICKS AND SQUARE CORNER OF *Kisū*

side of the gateway a very broad buttress decorated with two vertical T-shaped grooves instead of one and giving the impression of a gate tower (Figs. 88 and 93). This impression is further increased by the fact that the southern portion of the wall is set back some 12 cm. from the line of the northern part and has no buttress at all. The place where the buttress should have been is taken up by a deep niche in which a statue has been restored tentatively in Figure 88. This irregularity is obviously intentional and aims at further emphasizing the gateway. It should be mentioned also that in the southern portion of the wall the bottoms of the vertical T-shaped grooves and of the niche are lower down than the bottoms of the grooves in the northern section. No doubt this indicates a downward slope in the original surface of the soil from north to south.

⁹ Oscar Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)* (WVDOG XLVII [Leipzig, 1926]) p. 99 and Fig. 70.

Another feature which served to emphasize the main gateway is a pair of rectangular pedestals built of baked bricks laid in bitumen (Figs. 88, 93, and 95); each stands at the foot of one of the broad buttresses flanking the gateway, aligned with its T-shaped grooves. These pedestals measure 1.00×1.50 meters. Their original height is unfortunately unknown; for the southern one had suffered at the hands of brick-robbers, and, while the northern one (Fig. 94) is comparatively well preserved, its present upper surface coincided with the surface of the tell, so that it is perhaps incomplete at the top. Its present height from the floor is 50 cm. Both pedestals are built of stamped Naramsin bricks throughout; but they are founded at different depths, the northern one at 33.40, the southern one at 33.02.

The function of these pedestals can unfortunately not be determined with certainty. The closest parallels known to the writer are the two similar brick pedestals found by Woolley flanking the doorway to the cella in the PA-SAG chapel at Ur.¹⁰ To judge by the photo published, these pedestals were preserved to a height of nearly 1 meter. Near the southernmost one "lay fallen a square limestone shaft . . . having . . . high up on each side a crudely-carved design of birds or human figures; its position suggested that it had fallen from the base by the door." If, as Woolley's findings seem to suggest, this carved limestone shaft originally stood on top of one of the pedestals in the PA-SAG chapel, we may perhaps assume a similar function for the pedestals in the Naramsin Audience Hall and explain them as bases for statues or the like. In that case we might compare also the caryatids from the temple gateways of Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad)¹¹ and the inscriptional passages which speak of statues of guardian deities erected at the doors of temples and palaces.¹²

The gateway itself is of the usual rebated type characteristic of Babylonian and Assyrian temples. Besides the rebating of the outer face there is at each side another recess formed by the respective flanking buttress. A peculiar feature at the corner of each of these outer recesses is a thin projecting wall made of halves of baked bricks placed one on top of another (Fig. 94). These walls have been preserved to a height of from 30 to 35 cm. above floor level. On the inside the single recess at each side of the gateway is unusually wide, perhaps because it was intended to correspond with the niche in the opposite wall. Two pivot stones, one at each jamb, show that the gateway was closed by a double door.

Below ground level most of the outer wall of the Audience Hall rests on a *kisū* set out about 5 cm. from the face of the wall and founded at a depth of 32.40; but the western half of the south wall, that along the Urninmar building, is founded directly on the ground at 33.43 and has no *kisū*. Where the *kisū* was found it duplicated exactly the buttresses and recesses of the wall above except at the northwest corner of the building. At that corner the wall is rounded, as mentioned above; in the *kisū*, however, the corner is square, formed by a projection of the faces of the two nearest buttresses until they meet (Fig. 97). Of course the decoration with vertical T-shaped grooves is not repeated in the *kisū*, since it was not meant to be seen.

The question whether internal walls were built upon foundations was investigated in only one case, that of the south wall of P 27:2. Here the answer was in the affirmative.

FUNCTION

The Naramsin building exhibits practically all of the features which characterize Babylonian temples and distinguish them from secular structures. It is decorated on the outside with

¹⁰ Woolley, *op. cit.* pp. 368-70 and Pl. XLIX. The Akkadian name of the god is Ishum (see A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* [Romae, 1914] No. 1480). His Sumerian name PA-SAG is probably to be read *hēndur-sag(a) (eme-SAL: hāndur-sam(a)*; see Poebel in *ZA XXXIX* [1930] 143-45).

¹¹ *OIC* No. 16, pp. 100 f.; Gordon Loud, *Khorsabad I (OIP XXXVIII* [1936] 98.

¹² See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II (Heidelberg, 1925) 72 and the references quoted there.

buttresses and with vertical T-shaped grooves; it has rebated outer doors; and its main room, P 27:2, is shaped exactly like the typical Babylonian temple cella, a "broad room" with a cult niche in the middle of the long wall opposite the door (cf. pp. 106 f.). From these characteristics the nature of the building can be determined with certainty: it must be a temple.

Besides the features mentioned, however, the Naramsin building has others which, if it is a temple, strike one as definite anomalies. It will be noted that the "cella," P 27:2, is the foremost room of the building, whereas in all other known temple plans the cella is situated at the back or at least in the center of the plan. That P 27:2 actually represents the cella cannot be doubted, for it has all the characteristics of a cella; and the only other room containing a cult niche, namely P 27:3, is a separate small chapel isolated from the remainder of the building. P 27:8, which from its position on the plan might be suggested as a possibility, has neither rebated doorways nor a cult niche. This statement can be made with absolute certainty, for the room was especially tested for rebates and niches by removing the plaster from the walls and tracing the bonding of the bricks, which proved to be perfectly regular everywhere.

The position of the cella in the plan is not the only anomaly in the Naramsin temple. Perhaps more striking yet is the fact that a doorway was built in the northern half of the cult niche itself. This doorway must have been original, for it constituted the only means of access to the larger part of the building, the complex centered around P 27:1. This feature is, to the best of my knowledge, absolutely unique. Lastly we may call attention to the fact that the dedication inscription on the bricks names the god-king Naramsin alone, whereas in other temples such inscriptions normally mention both the king who built the temple and the deity to whom it was dedicated.

Thus while the features first mentioned define our building without question as a temple, the others indicate that it was no ordinary temple; it must have been a temple of a quite special kind.

What kind of temple, now, would be likely to present anomalies such as those which we have pointed out? Two peculiarities of the building hint at the answer. Looking at the plan we see that there is no antecella in front of P 27:2. This is a certain sign that the temple belonged to no important god but to either a minor deity or a *deified king*. The brick inscription points the same way; for, inasmuch as the only deity which it mentions is the god-king Naramsin himself, it seems to suggest that the temple belonged to him. The further fact that our temple is founded upon the ruins of private houses shows that it belonged to a newly introduced cult. The only new cult which we know to have been introduced in Eshnunna at the time in question is that of the deified ruler; for the first ruler of Eshnunna to claim divine status was Naramsin's father, Ibiqadad II (cf. bldg. inscr. No. 13).

The assumption that our building was a temple for the deified ruler, that is, for Naramsin himself, will in fact explain satisfactorily all the structural anomalies which we have pointed out. Andrae's penetrating analysis of Babylonian-Assyrian temples¹³ has shown that the "Breitraum" cella of the Babylonian temple originally represented the gate of the god's dwelling; there he appeared in order to hear supplications and give judgments, just as the head man of any small oriental village will even today hear supplications and settle disputes, sitting at the door of his house. The niche in which stood the cult statue is in reality nothing but a sham doorway, the doorway to the inside of the god's house, through which he is thought to have just come.

Applying this to our temple, where the "god" was the living ruler himself, deified, it is clear that if the "god" were to appear in the cella to hear the supplications of his subjects, a sham

¹³ Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient*.

doorway (the niche) would not be sufficient. There would have to be some more concrete means of access to the cella from behind. The otherwise inexplicable doorway in the northern half of the niche would serve this purpose excellently.

Moreover, the position of the cella as the foremost room on the plan is accounted for if we substitute for an abstract deity the living god-king. The god could come from heaven and appear out of nothing through the sham doorway of the cella. Not so the god-king. When he made an appearance, he needed rooms behind the cella (his throneroom) where he could don his divine apparel and whence he could enter the niche. He would also need to be easily visible to the people assembled outside to see him and to hear his decisions. For these reasons, the cella, *thought of* as a gateroom in other temples, had here actually to *be* the gateroom, the foremost room in the building; for here a crowd assembled in the free space outside, or later on in the added forecourt, could easily see the king through the opened doors and also hear what he said.

Since the theory that our building was a temple for the god-king Naramsin himself is the only one which will agree with and satisfactorily explain all the features of the building, including certain anomalies, we can safely accept it. But if we call the building a "temple for Naramsin" we must realize that we are using the word "temple" in the Babylonian sense of the word.¹⁴ The actual function of an ordinary Babylonian temple (Andrae's "Tieftempel") was that of audience hall of the god in question. It represented the gate of his house, in which he gave audience to his subjects. This applies to the Naramsin temple also; it was the audience hall in which Naramsin gave audience to his subjects. Since he was a god-king, however, his audience hall naturally had to be built like a god's audience hall, that is, in the fashion of a "Tieftempel." If, therefore, we want to bring out clearly what is essential in the building, namely its function, it is better described in English as "the god-king's audience hall."

In the fact that Naramsin's Audience Hall had to reflect the king's divine character we may see the reason why Naramsin did not content himself with the audience hall which already existed in the palace itself (N 31:6) but felt impelled to build a new and separate building. The old audience hall in the palace dated from the time before the rulers of Eshnunna began to consider themselves gods. It therefore contained none of the architectural requirements—rebated doorways, cult niche, etc.—which would immediately suggest to the onlooker that he was in the presence not of a human being but of a deity. Inasmuch as the need for an audience hall with such features must have arisen very soon after the Eshnunna kings began to claim divine status, it is further significant that it was by Naramsin, who was only the second deified king¹⁵ of the city, that our building was constructed.

Our discussion of the character of the Naramsin building would not be complete if we did not try to visualize how the building fulfilled its purpose. Up to now we have kept strictly to what may logically be deduced from the remains of the building. In order to picture to ourselves how the building functioned—that is, the nature of the ceremonial at an audience of the divine Naramsin—we must give imagination somewhat freer rein.

The living-quarters of the kings of Eshnunna were—it seems reasonable to assume—somewhere to the south, near the palace. Early in the morning on audience days the king would therefore approach the Audience Hall from the south by the narrow pathway which leads up

¹⁴ The difference which we feel to exist between the terms "audience hall" and "temple" is mainly due to the fact that our word "temple" has connotations which were foreign to the Babylonians. To them a temple was essentially an audience hall. This essential, functional identity of temple and audience hall was never forgotten but remained an active factor in Babylonian-Assyrian architecture to the end. Even in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times we find that the audience halls (thronerooms) of the royal palaces were built in the fashion of the temple cellas. See *OIC* No. 16, p. 93.

¹⁵ See p. 118, n. 7, and p. 199.

to the entrance chamber, P 27:6. This pathway does not end at the entrance itself but joins a small paved area which connects it with the doorway to the chapel, P 27:3, where stood the stela of Tishpak. The king would therefore, in all probability, first turn to the left and pray for a while in the chapel, asking Tishpak, the chief god of his kingdom, for support and guidance during the coming audience. Only when he had finished these prayers would the king leave the chapel and enter the building proper through the doorway into P 27:6, whence he would pass through P 27:2, the throneroom, and on through the doorway in the niche into P 27:1.

In the rooms around P 27:1 we must suppose that the divine apparel of the king was kept between audiences. As he was a god, the king's divinity would naturally be manifest not only in the architectural setting but also in the dress which he wore on occasions such as this. How we are to picture the official dress of the god-king is shown by a seal belonging to a servant of the deified king Ibisin of Ur, on which a courtier has depicted the moment when he himself was received in audience by the king.¹⁶ On this seal the deified ruler is seated on a low chair; he wears a long robe of sheepskin and has a plain turban on his head. The dress we know well from other seals of the period as the dress appropriate to gods. Though the old sheepskin robes had gone out of fashion long before, they were nevertheless retained as the correct dress of deities; for in religious matters people are always more conservative than elsewhere. Gods are thus easily distinguishable from their worshipers, who wear plain woven clothes. Ibisin's turban also is known from contemporary representations of deities. A characteristic example from Eshnunna itself is furnished by a seal belonging to Naramsin's kinsman Irrabani, on which the latter and his father, Urningishzida, are represented as received in audience by Tishpak himself (Fig. 98).¹⁷ Irrabani and Urningishzida both wear plain woolen garments and sheepskin caps; Tishpak, seated in front of them, is dressed in the divine sheepskin robe and wears a plain turban just as does Ibisin on the seal mentioned above.

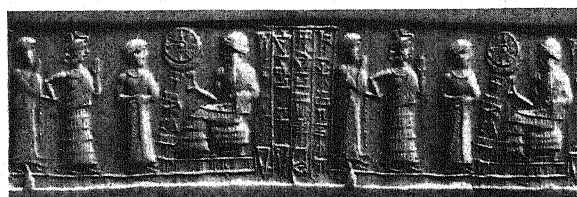


FIG. 98.—MODERN IMPRESSION OF A CYLINDER SEAL SHOWING IRRABANI AND URNINGISHZIDA BEFORE THE GOD TISHPAK. SEAL IN BERLIN MUSEUM, VA 3113; REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE STAATLICHE MUSEEN, VORDERASIATISCHE ABTEILUNG. ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE

The room where the king's divine apparel was kept may well have been P 27:4, for fragments of an ornamented band of silver found here perhaps belonged to some insignia of royalty or divinity. Here the king could also rest between audiences, for this room must have been cool and pleasant even in summer, protected as it was from the rays of the sun by the massive wall of the Urninmar building to the south. In the other two rooms, P 27:8 and O 27:4, one or two trusted servants may have prepared refreshments for the king.

While inside the building the king thus arrayed himself in divine attire, a crowd would have gathered outside in the free space toward the east where in later times the forecourt was built. Some would have come because they wanted audience, the majority perhaps merely to watch the pageantry of the ceremony. When the king was ready the great doors of the hall would be swung open, and across the throneroom one would see the niche in which the god-king was to appear and his empty throne. The throne we can picture, from the seal of Ibisin, as a low chair without a back. It may have been made of "ivory inlaid with gold," as we know the throne of

¹⁶ Leon Legrain, *Historical Fragments* (PUMBP XIII [Philadelphia, 1922]) pp. 34–41 and photographic Pl. I.

¹⁷ Berlin VA 3113. The legend reads: *ur-dnin-giš-zi-da išak dš-nun^{ki} ir-ra-ba-ni dūmu-ni i-qī-iš*, "Urningishzida, ishaku of Eshnunna, (to) Irrabani his son has presented (this seal)." Cf. A. Ungnad in *OLZ* XII (1909) 161 f.

Tishpak to have been (date formula No. 111); it was covered with a cushion of sheepskin, the same material as the divine dress of the king. The back of the niche as a whole was probably decked with a richly worked woven curtain which thus concealed the little doorway through which the king would enter. It will be noted that this doorway was placed as near the side as possible, so that the throne could stand exactly in the center of the niche.

After gazing for a while at the riches of the empty throneroom the crowd outside would see the curtain drawn a little to one side, and the god-king himself would appear in the cult niche. The effect of this moment, easily the most impressive in the whole ceremony, would no doubt be heightened by sacred music; for music played such an important role in the service of Babylonian temples that we cannot imagine that the god-king would not have his sacred choirs singing hymns in his honor. Several old Babylonian and Sumerian hymns in honor of the king as well as of the gods have been preserved. We shall, however, here quote only two highly appropriate passages. The first, taken from a hymn to a deified king of Ur, Urnammu, and his temple Ehursaggalamma, may serve to give an idea of what might have been sung while the crowd, gazing into the temple of the god-king, was eagerly awaiting his appearance:

Stronger than all lords, (stronger) than pre-eminent lords,
the exalted one who cometh forth from thy gate hath no opponent.
O sanctuary of Ur, thy inside is a mountain of richness, thy outside is
A court not decked in Hursaggalamma no man knoweth;
thy courts are, thy name is
Thy divine lord, the great lord whom I shall see,
(is) the son of Ninsun, the seemly of all lands.
O court, thy great rites doth the king of the gods . . . over the country.
Thy gate, "Thy god (is) the great god whom I shall see"—
the sun throweth each midday light upon its swing(?) doors.
[Thy] place where the gods decide destiny, place where with fairness they decide—
(there) the divine Urnammu, god of heaven and earth, sits in council
.
Thou art a [. . . .]; in thy "place for deciding destiny" the great gods decide destinies.
Sumer and Akkad, the black-headed race,
doth the divine Urnammu, thy divine lord, contemplate in the heart.¹⁸

The second, from a hymn to Samsuiluna of Babylon, may illustrate the hymn sung at the very moment when the god-king appeared and the crowd, led by the priests, broke forth in paeans of praise:

O lord, when thou takest thy seat on the throne on the exalted *parakku*,
firm indeed is the seat of thy royalty;
O Samsuiluna, when thou takest thy seat on the throne on the exalted *parakku*,
firm indeed is the seat of thy royalty.
.
When thou shinest(?) in the holy place, the pure place,
grandly indeed the princely function comes to perfection.
When thou . . . est on the holy *parakku* of kingship,
verily manliness rises up to the highest summit.
When thou clothest(?) thyself with the splendors of kingship, like to the stars when they
rise flares up thy essence(?).
.
When like light thou comest forth in splendor,
verily a destiny of greatness Anu and Enlil have given thee.

¹⁸ BM 78183, pub. by Stephen Langdon in *PSBA* XL (1918) 45-48 and Pl. II, lines 6-17 and 21-24.

When like Nanna (the moon-god) thou risest up over the country,
 the great prince Enki greets thee in his
 Like unto Utu (the sun-god) thy *parakku* lights up the country;
 thy scepter directs aright the whole land.¹⁹

The god-king, thus acknowledged as possessed of divine wisdom and powers and comparable in splendor to the sun and the moon, would then begin his audience, receiving or declining petitions, adjusting disputes, governing the land.

The foregoing reconstruction of the scene for which our building may once have formed the magnificent setting is tentative only. That logical reasoning must here work hand in hand with fantasy is unavoidable. We have tried, however, to use the latter with discrimination, to deduce as much as possible from the building itself, and in supplying the details which lend color to the picture to mention only such as have parallels within the variegated Babylonian-Assyrian culture, especially in the cult of the deified kings.

THE AREA NORTH AND WEST OF THE AUDIENCE HALL

To form an idea of the general situation of the Audience Hall a small area to the north and west was cleared (Fig. 87). To the north we found a street (Q 27:1) and, on the other side, a series of rooms of approximately the same date as the Audience Hall and obviously belonging to private houses (see Fig. 95). Two of them (P 26:2 and Q 26:4) were accessible from the street only and may have been shops. In P 26:2 masses of sherds together with whole pots of Larsa type were found. From this room came also a curiously shaped stone object (Fig. 99) of unknown purpose. West of the Audience Hall is another street (O 27:1). Beyond the street, just beneath the surface in O 27:2, was a drain built of broken bricks, some of them stamped with the name of Ibalpiel I. Only the face of the wall on the west side of the street was traced; it follows roughly the irregular line of the Urninmar and Naramsin buildings.

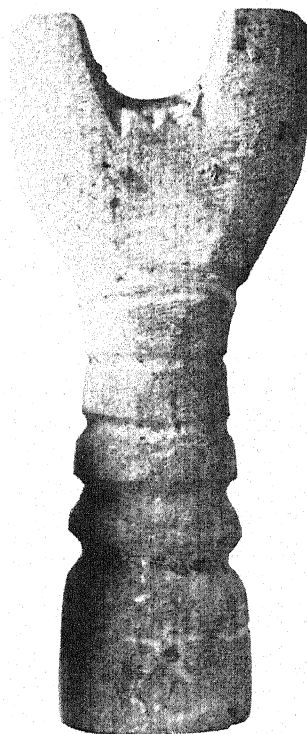


FIG. 99.—PINK LIMESTONE
OBJECT (AS. 33:399) FOUND IN
A PRIVATE HOUSE NORTH OF
NARAMSIN'S AUDIENCE HALL.
SCALE, 2:3

¹⁹ H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre II* (Paris. Musée national du Louvre, "Textes cunéiformes" XVI [Paris, 1930]) Pl. CI, AO 6703 rev. 40-43, 46-50, 53-58.

V

HISTORICAL DATA¹

By THORKILD JACOBSEN

THE SUCCESSION OF THE RULERS IN ESHNUNNA DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE LARSA PERIOD

In the preliminary report on the season of 1930/31 Dr. Frankfort presented a study of the chronology of the rulers of Eshnunna in the Isin-Larsa period.^{1a} Since that study appeared certain new data have come to light. Although most of these new data tally perfectly with his arrangement of the rulers, a few items concerning the later part of the period cannot be reconciled with the conclusions to which the evidence known in 1932 seemed to point. It seems therefore worth while to take up once more the question of the order of the rulers succeeding Urninmar and to consider it in the light of the more extensive body of evidence now available.

Certain new stratigraphic data may serve as a point of departure. In Stratum IV of the Ishtar Kititum temple in Ishchālī,² the latest rebuilding of that temple, all the inscribed bricks belong to a ruler called Ibalpiel, son of Dadusha and king of Eshnunna. A few such bricks were found also in Stratum III, which lies directly below Stratum IV. The inference to be drawn from these findings is, obviously, that Ibalpiel first used the temple as it stood in Period III, carrying out a few minor repairs there, and that later he decided upon a radical reconstruction and built the temple of Period IV. In the new building all the stamped bricks used would of course bear his name.

The inscribed bricks used in Stratum II, below Strata IV and III, belong to a different king of Eshnunna—Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel.³ Since this Ibiqadad is responsible for the lowest and therefore the earliest of these three rebuildings at Ishchālī, there can be no doubt that he preceded Ibalpiel, son of Dadusha. We therefore have

Ibalpiel	
Ibiqadad	} Period II
Dadusha	} Period III
Ibalpiel	} Period IV

Bricks with the inscription of a ruler called Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel (bldg. inscr. No. 13), were found at Tell Asmar also. Except for lacking the introductory line, *a-na dīštar ki-ti-tum*, "To Ishtar Kititum,"⁴ and the end, *ne-ri-ib-tum^{ki} i-qí-si-im*, "he presented to her (the city of) Neribtum," the Tell Asmar inscription is an exact duplicate of that from Ishchālī, even to

¹ [Thanks are due to my colleagues in the Oriental Institute, Drs. F. W. Geers, I. J. Gelb, and A. Sachs, for criticism and suggestions during the reading of proofs for this chapter.]

^{1a} *OIC* No. 13, pp. 25-41.

² See the preliminary account of the excavation of this temple in *OIC* No. 20, pp. 74-85.

³ *Ibid.* p. 78.

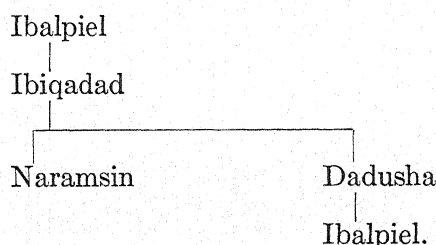
⁴ In Sumerian, "Inanna of Kiti"; see *OIC* No. 20, pp. 83 f.

minute details of spacing and form of the signs. We can, therefore, with absolute certainty assign the Tell Asmar bricks and the Ishchālī bricks which have this inscription to one ruler.

At Tell Asmar the bricks of Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel, formed the paving of the street which lay south of the old palace and separated it from the Southern Building (see pp. 83–86 and Pl. VII). Under this paving and belonging with it ran a drain which at a point west of the paving had been patched with bricks of two different rulers—Naramsin, son of Ibiqadad, and Ibalpiel, son of Dadusha (see bldg. insers. Nos. 14–15). The latter of these rulers is clearly the same as the Ibalpiel, son of Dadusha, whom we know from Ishchālī, for the inscriptions duplicate each other in every respect. Since the drain, which according to evidence from the paving had been constructed by Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel, had been repaired by Naramsin and Ibalpiel, these rulers must have followed Ibiqadad in time. This conclusion agrees with and amplifies the result obtained from the Ishchālī evidence.

The fact that Naramsin and Ibalpiel patched up Ibiqadad's drain not only indicates that Ibiqadad was earlier than the others, but also suggests that the reigns of all three were fairly close in time, for we know that the ground level rose so rapidly in this complex that a drain could be of service through only a very limited number of generations. The proximity in time of these three rulers is indicated by the Ishchālī evidence also; for there, as we have seen, Ibiqadad and Ibalpiel appear in building periods which follow immediately one upon the other (Strata III and II).

That Ibiqadad was followed fairly closely by Naramsin and Ibalpiel is a conclusion of some importance, for each of the two rulers Naramsin (in bldg. inser. No. 14) and Dadusha, Ibalpiel's father, calls himself son of Ibiqadad.⁵ The identification of Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel, with Ibiqadad the father of Naramsin and with Ibiqadad the father of Dadusha leaps to the eye. In each case the name Ibiqadad is written with the determinative of divinity, and the kings concerned must have reigned at nearly the same time. But that two or even three different rulers of Eshnunna called Ibiqadad, each mighty enough to become deified, all flourished at approximately the same time is certainly too much to expect. We may therefore confidently accept the identification, which gives us

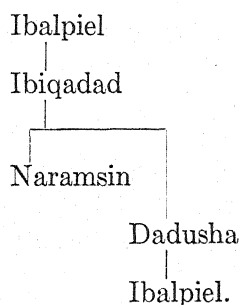


In this list the relative order of Naramsin and Dadusha is still uncertain. Here, however, a private archive found in Ishchālī and published by Lutz comes to our help.⁶ This archive, which deals with the business affairs of one Ilushunašir and his father Bursin, contains tablets dated to the reigns of Dadusha and Ibalpiel exclusively; Naramsin is not mentioned. Since references to the ruler are very common in date formulas and seal impressions on these tablets, the absence of any reference whatsoever to Naramsin becomes significant. It is definitely

⁵ For Dadusha see the inscription on the duck weight of Inibshina (O. Schroeder, *KAHI* II, No. 3): ^{di}da¹-du-[ša] mār ^{di}bi-ig²-adad šār èš-nun-na^{ki}

⁶ H. F. Lutz, *Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjāly* ("University of California Publications in Semitic Philology" X, No. 1 [Berkeley, Calif., 1931]). An excellent description of the contents of this archive, unearthed by illicit diggers, with a discussion of the main chronological problems relating to it, was given by P. Koschaker in *ZA* XLIII (1936) 210–21. See also pp. 124 and 129 below.

inexplicable if his reign separated that of Dadusha from that of Ibalpiel. The obvious conclusion is therefore that Naramsin reigned before Dadusha and Ibalpiel. This gives us the order



It should be noted that this arrangement brings together all those rulers of Eshnunna—Ibiqadad II, Naramsin, and Dadusha—whom we know to have been deified.⁷ That these rulers thus naturally group themselves together is a point in its favor; for the deification of rulers in Babylonia and Assyria seems to have presupposed dominion over very extensive territories, and it is not likely that the small state of Eshnunna more than once succeeded in enlarging its borders to such an extent.

The bricks of Ibiqadad, son of Ibalpiel, were, as mentioned above, found in a street pavement. On the north side of the street this pavement had been laid against a “stepped-back” inclosure wall (see p. 83) which must have been contemporaneous with it. At its west end this inclosure wall joined a rebuilding of the palace which, according to numerous inscribed bricks used in its construction (see bldg. inscr. No. 12), could be assigned to a ruler named Ibalpiel. Since the street level with which this palace communicated is almost the same as that of Ibiqadad’s paving, palace and paving must have been practically contemporaneous.⁸ Since we know that the palace was built by an Ibalpiel, and since the Ibiqadad who laid the paving mentions that he is the son of a ruler of that name, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Ibalpiel of the palace is the same as Ibalpiel the father of Ibiqadad.

This identification makes it possible to link the list of rulers arrived at above with that presented by the stratigraphy of the successive palaces. This evidence has already been carefully discussed by Dr. Frankfort.⁹ For the sake of convenience, however, the main facts may be summarized here as corrected by later finds:

⁷ Ibiqadad II is deified in his own inscriptions (bldg. inscr. No. 13 and the brick inscription from Ishchālī mentioned on p. 116), in inscriptions of his son Naramsin (bldg. inscr. No. 14 and one found on Cythera [see comment under bldg. inscr. No. 14]), and in the inscription of Inibshina, daughter of Dadusha (Schroeder, *loc. cit.*). Naramsin is deified in his inscriptions just mentioned and in the date formula of his reign on a tablet bought in Baghdad and reported to come from Ishchālī: *mu 4na-ra-am-sin(EN-ZU) 1ka1-ku-1a1-tim ba-an-dib*. This tablet, now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago, will be published later. The same formula was found on a tablet unearthed at Ishchālī, Ish. 34:T.112 (cf. p. 128, n. 49). Dadusha also is deified in the inscription of Inibshina. There is no evidence that any other rulers were deified. My remarks on the deified rulers in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 47 f., were based on the order of rulers then accepted and are therefore partly superseded.

⁸ The exact data are as follows: The level of the top of the lowest step in the stairway from the street (in O 31:1) to the Ibalpiel palace was 34.64. This stairway (Fig. 66) was built of bricks bearing Ibalpiel’s inscription, similar in every respect to those used elsewhere in that palace. The street level to which the stairs led down was 34.53. The Ibiqadad II paving was preserved on the north and south sides of the street but had disappeared in the middle. The level of the strip of paving preserved along the north side varied from 34.53, at a point 1 meter southeast of the stairs, to 34.40, at the gate at the east end of the street. The level of the strip along the south side of the street was more even, being about 34.50 opposite the stairs of Ibalpiel’s palace as well as at the gate. Bricks bearing Ibiqadad’s inscription are scattered through the paving, but they appear mainly in the southern strip. A photograph of the street was published in *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 8; one of O 31:1, *ibid.* Fig. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 25 ff.

1. The oldest palace of interest in the present discussion is the so-called "Palace of Three Rulers" (see p. 63, n. 15).¹⁰ In this palace a few pavements etc. had been repaired with bricks bearing the inscription of Urninmar (bldg. inscr. No. 7). Urninmar must accordingly have lived in this palace during part of his reign (see p. 63).

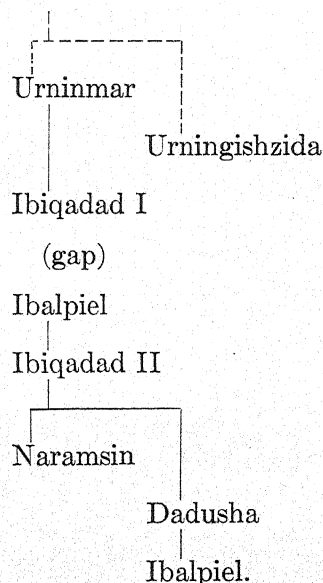
2. Above the Palace of Three Rulers and therefore following it in time was a palace in which pavements, sills, etc. consisted predominantly of Urninmar bricks (see pp. 64-77). We must therefore conclude that Urninmar, who had originally lived in the Palace of Three Rulers, tore it down and built a new palace of his own over the ruins. The Urninmar bricks were not, however, the only bricks found in this new palace. In one room, side by side, are a sill of Urninmar bricks and another made of bricks of a ruler named Urningishzida (bldg. inscr. No. 8). To account for these we must assume that Urningishzida at some later date lived in the palace built by Urninmar and carried out some small repairs or alterations there. This order of succession, Urninmar-Urningishzida, is confirmed by the fact that elsewhere drains containing bricks of Urningishzida were found to overlie drains built by Urninmar.¹¹

3. Above the Urninmar-Urningishzida palace (i.e., still later) was a palace built by an *ishakku* named Ibiqadad, as evidenced by numerous inscribed bricks used in its construction. In the packing around a horizontal drain in this palace (in P 31:1; see p. 77 and Pl. VIII) were found numerous fragments of impressions of a seal belonging to a ruler Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar (seal legend No. 40). Since the context in which they were found shows that they are as old as the palace itself, Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar, must have been the builder of the palace.

4. Above the Ibiqadad palace was a palace which had no inscribed bricks (cf. p. 77) and must therefore remain anonymous.¹²

5. Above the anonymous palace was, finally, a palace with revetments, drains, etc. made of bricks with the stamp of a ruler named Ibalpiel¹³ (bldg. inscr. No. 12). This Ibalpiel we have above identified with Ibalpiel the father of that Ibiqadad who laid the paving of the street south of the palaces and was responsible for the rebuilding in Period II of the Ishtar Kititum temple in Ishchālī.

Combining with our previous list of rulers the list based on the stratigraphy of the palaces, we can draw up the following table:



¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 32 f., where, however, this name is not used.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 33; cf. above, p. 70.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 21 this palace was tentatively assigned to Dadusha—a suggestion no longer tenable.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 16.

We have here accepted the view that Urninmar and Urningishzida were brothers, because Urningishzida's reign seems to separate that of Urninmar from that of the latter's son, Ibiqadad I.¹⁴ However, it is quite as possible that Urningishzida was an elder son of Urninmar, succeeding to the throne before Ibiqadad. The question must be left undecided since we lack sufficient evidence.

The list thus arrived at contains only a single gap, that extending from Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar, to Ibalpiel, father of Ibiqadad. In this gap must be placed several rulers known to us from date formulas etc. whom stratigraphic or other evidence shows to belong in this period. They are:

Waradsa.^{14a}—Two tablets dated to the reign of Waradsa, a ruler of Eshnunna (As. 30:T.202 and 211, date formula No. 108), were found in the palace of Ibiqadad I, son of Urninmar. Waradsa may have been a usurper, this inference being drawn from another date formula of his found on a tablet at Khafājah.¹⁵

Belakum.—Just under the surface, in building remains¹⁶ near the northeast corner of the palace, were found numerous tablets dated in the reign of a ruler named Belakum (see date formulas Nos. 101–5). A doorsill of Urninmar bricks in the southeast wall of O 29:7 belonged to the floor level at which the tablets were found. This establishes the time of Urninmar as the earlier date limit. On the other hand, a tablet dated to Belakum's reign (As. 31:T.57, bearing date formula No. 104) was found in a locus in the private houses beneath the Southern Building; and also in these private houses (in Q 32:6, Q 33:8, and O 33:11) were found bricks with Belakum's inscription (bldg. inscr. No. 11). Since the paving of Ibiqadad (II), son of Ibalpiel, was laid up against the northern wall of the Southern Building (cf. p. 118, n. 8), this building must at the latest be contemporaneous with him. The houses found under the Southern Building, cut by its foundations, must of course antedate it (cf. p. 86); so the tablets of Belakum found within these houses must be older than Ibiqadad II. Belakum must accordingly be placed between him and Urninmar.

Sharria.—Two date formulas mentioning Sharria have been found, No. 98 on four tablets and No. 99 on one. Of those bearing No. 98, two were at about level 33.70—As. 30:T.624 in the Ibiqadad I palace and As. 30:T.228 in the street (in N 32:1). A third, As. 31:T.103, was in a room in the private houses under the Southern Building. Sharria should therefore belong after Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar, and before Ibalpiel. Tablet As. 30:T.575, from the palace, mentions that Sharria is the father of Belakum. Hence he should be placed just before the latter in the gap of our list. A brick inscription of Sharria (bldg. inscr. No. 10) appeared on two bricks in N 30:3, but since they were lying loose under the surface they were of little value for dating purposes.

*Abdierah*¹⁷ and *Shiqlanum.*—One tablet dated to Abdierah and one dated to Shiqlanum (date formulas Nos. 96–97) were found with numerous others in a vertical pottery drain in the palace (in O 30:7). In a preliminary report¹⁸ I called attention to a letter written by two persons, Abdierah and Shiqlanum, to a certain Ibiqadad who seems to be the father of Ab-

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 34 and 40.

^{14a} Although the name presumably was pronounced Warassa, we have in this and similar cases used a form which lies closer to the orthography, inasmuch as it gives a clearer impression of the etymology of the name.

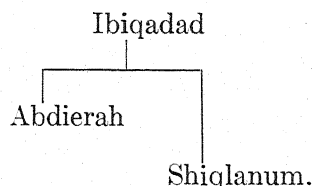
¹⁵ Kh. 35:T.14: *šanat warad-sa* ¹⁵*kussā iṣ-ba-tu*, "Year when Waradsa seized the throne."

¹⁶ Not shown on the plans in this volume; but cf. *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 6.

¹⁷ This name, which means "servant of the moon-god," occurs in the forms *Abdiarah*, *Abdirah*, and *Habdiarah*. See the material collected by Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaänder* (Leipzig, 1926) p. 9. In the following pages we have adopted an intermediate form—*Abdierah*.

¹⁸ *OIC* No. 13, pp. 49 f.

dierah¹⁹ or possibly of both. The fact that all three names are known to us as names of rulers of Eshnunna can hardly be accidental, especially when we remember that the letter was found in the palace of that city. I concluded therefore that the Abdierah and Shiqlanum of the letter were identical with the *ishakku*'s Abdierah and Shiqlanum, and that the letter was written to their father Ibiqadad while they were still young princes. Adducing other evidence I suggested the order



The next question was with which Ibiqadad we were dealing. In the earlier report I wrongly decided on Ibiqadad II, because the evidence then available seemed to indicate that we knew the successors of Ibiqadad I but not those of Ibiqadad II. At the present time, however, the position is completely reversed. We now know the successors of Ibiqadad II but not those of Ibiqadad I. It seems preferable therefore to assign Abdierah and Shiqlanum to the time immediately after Ibiqadad I. The assumption that they belong within that gap is in some measure supported by the fact that the letter in question was found near the tablets dated to the reign of Belakum.

We have thus seen that five rulers—Waradsa, Belakum, Sharria, Abdierah, and Shiqlanum—in all probability should be placed within the period covered by the gap in our table of rulers after Ibiqadad I and before Ibalpiel. For no other rulers have we evidence that they belong to this period; what is just as important, all other rulers of Eshnunna known to us at present can, on stratigraphic or other evidence, be shown to belong to other periods. If more than these five rulers reigned in Eshnunna during the interval, they would therefore have to be rulers of whom we have found no trace. The probability that such rulers existed is not, however, very great, for the gap must be filled by occupants of not more than two successive palaces. This span of time seems amply covered by five reigns, especially when one considers that Ibiqadad may have lived for part of his reign in his new palace and that Ibalpiel may have lived for some time in the anonymous palace before he built his own.

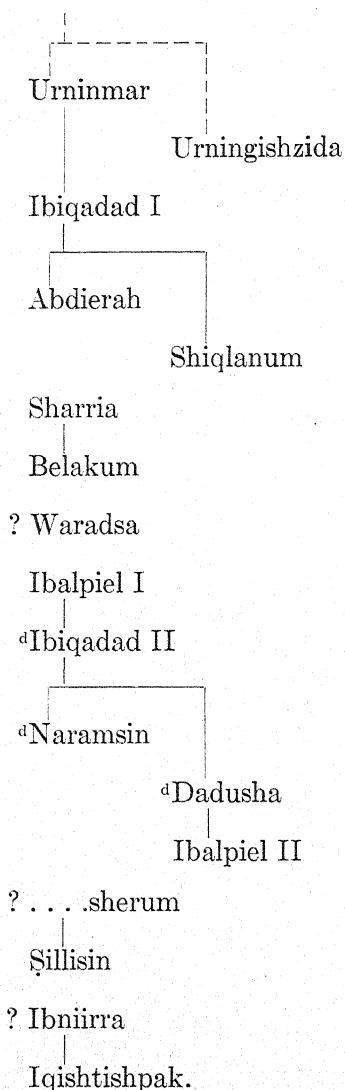
The evidence for the order of succession of the five rulers in question has already been mentioned. If our conclusions concerning Abdierah and Shiqlanum are correct, they should follow immediately after Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar. Belakum, we may assume, followed his father Sharria; but whether Waradsa should be placed before Sharria or after Belakum cannot be decided on the evidence at hand. In our list we have tentatively chosen the second possibility (cf. p. 124, n. 27).

To the list thus obtained we have for the sake of completeness added four rulers, Iqish-tishpak and Šillisin and their respective fathers.^{19a} Bricks with inscriptions of Iqishtishpak, son of Ibniirra, and of Šillisin, son ofsherum (bldg. inscrs. Nos. 16–17), were found in the Audience Hall of Naramsin, in a layer of mud bricks and clay used to raise the floor level after subsidence of the original floor of Naramsin (see p. 100). These rulers must accordingly be later than Naramsin; that is, they should be added at the bottom of our list. Their order is unknown. We have arbitrarily placedsherum and Šillisin before Ibniirra and Iqish-tishpak. We have no means of deciding whether other rulers intervened between Ibalpiel,

¹⁹ As. 30:T.2 rev. x+6 ff.: *ù um-ma ab-[di-ra-ab] šum-ma a-bi [at-ta]*, "and Abdierah says: 'If [thou art] my father'"

^{19a} It is uncertain whether the fathers actually ruled; but on Ibniirra cf. bldg. inscr. No. 16, n. †.

son of Dadusha, and these four. The list thus arrived at, including uncertainties in order of succession at the points questioned, comprises



SYNCHRONISMS OF RULERS

It remains to be seen how this list agrees with our general knowledge of Babylonian history during the period in question. Do such synchronisms as can be established between rulers of Babylon whose chronological position is certain and our rulers of Eshnunna confirm the positions we have assigned to the latter? Equally important, do the political events associated with the various rulers of Eshnunna fit in with the general political situation at the time to which each is assigned by our list? In trying to answer these questions we must naturally start with the synchronisms of rulers. Of these it is possible to establish three:

1. ABDIERAH—SUMUABUM

A date formula from Kish reads: *mu a-b-di-a-ra-a h (?) ba-a-n-di b*, "Year: 'Abdierah was taken captive.'"²⁰ The formula belongs to the reign of Yawium, a local ruler

²⁰ Langdon, "Tablets from Kish," *PSBA* XXXIII (1911) 185-96, Tablet IV; Ungnad in *RLA* II 193, year [9].

of Kish, as shown by the fact that it occurs upon a document in which the oath is taken in his name. From the date formula itself we may conclude that the Abdierah mentioned in it was ruler of a small state not too far from Kish, for all parallels show that only the capture of a ruler is of sufficient importance to be mentioned in a date formula. Since Yawium's own kingdom was a small local affair, that of his vanquished opponent is likely to have been near by and not much larger. Abdierah is not a common name; only one ruler called Abdierah is known—namely Abdierah of Eshnunna. Since Eshnunna is just such a state as we must look for (relatively small and near Kish), we can safely assume that Yawium's date formula refers to Abdierah of Eshnunna. The synchronism thus obtained is of importance, for the time of Yawium is known. He was contemporaneous with another ruler, Manana; and Manana, with Sumuabum of Babylon.²¹ We thus have

Abdierah—Yawium—Manana—Sumuabum.

2. PREDECESSORS OF BELAKUM—SUMULAE

In Abdierah's time Eshnunna extended at least to the Diyālā, for a tablet dated to his reign has been found in Khafājah D.²² Abdierah's defeat and capture apparently caused a severe decline in Eshnunna's power; for in the same archive from Khafājah D in which the Abdierah tablet was found we are confronted with a series of local rulers,²³ and it is not until Belakum and Waradsa that names of rulers of Eshnunna again make their appearance there. That Khafājah with the territory along the Diyālā was lost to Eshnunna after Abdierah's capture is indicated also by tablets found in a cache at Tell Asmar at the north end of Trench B.²⁴ From the names of rulers mentioned, this cache can be dated to the period Belakum—Ibalpiel I; and among the date formulas on these tablets are some mentioning the capture of Tutub, the city represented by Khafājah D,²⁵ and of Neribtum, a city which we know to have been situated in that neighborhood.²⁶ Since at the period of this cache the region around Khafājah had to be reconquered, it is obvious that it had been lost at an earlier date. The ruler to whom the formulas in question belong is presumably Belakum; for, as already mentioned, tablets of his

²¹ See Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 194, year [27].

²² Kh. 35: T.95.

²³ The names of these rulers are Hammidashur, Ishmebali, Ankimili, Adaki, Ilidiha. . . . , Atkurili, and Baliapuh. Most of them must have had very short reigns, for, of the nineteen formulas found, eight record the accession or the death of a ruler. It is also quite likely that some of them were contemporaneous, one being the overlord of another. It should be specially noted that our term "local rulers" means not that the capital of these rulers was necessarily at Khafājah, but only that the occurrence of their names is peculiar to the Khafājah region as opposed to Tell Asmar.

²⁴ Trench B is a comparatively shallow trench running southward from squares F-G 36, i.e., southwest of the palace complex. It uncovered only meager remains of private houses.

²⁵ It is planned to present the evidence for this identification in a publication of contract tablets from Khafājah D.

²⁶ The exact location of Neribtum is unknown. My previous suggestion (made in a paper read at the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1935) that Neribtum might be identified with Khafājah B+C is no longer tenable. The reason for that identification was that tablets dealing with the levy of Neribtum had been found in Khafājah B+C. Since then, however, conclusive evidence (see Frankfort in *AJSL* LII [1935/36] 210; E. A. Speiser in *American Schools of Oriental Research, Bulletin* No. 70 [1938] pp. 7-10) has come to light that Khafājah B+C is Dūr Samsuiluna; on this city see date formulas for 20th and 24th years of Samsuiluna (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 183, year 165, and p. 184, year 169; read *ma-da-wa-ru-um* (!)-*ma* (!)-*ke*, instead of *ma* (?) -*da-wa-ru-šir* (?) -*ke*, and *utur-ül-ka-ta* instead of *ig-ù-ḥa-a-n-dé-ta* (?) [cf. Ungnad's note]) and especially the text published by Arno Poebel in *AOF* IX (1933/34) 241-92. The presence at Khafājah of documents concerned with the levy of Neribtum must be because Dūr Samsuiluna was the military center of the region, to which such lists were sent in after they had been compiled. Neribtum is mentioned also in the inscription of Ibiqadad II from Ishchālī (see p. 116) and in a treaty between Hammidashur and Sumunumhim (see n. 28 below), which likewise comes from Ishchālī. The name Neribtum occurs frequently in the tablets from Khafājah D and in those of the archive from Ishchālī published by Lutz (*op. cit.*). See also Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (OIP XI [1929]) No. 216 iv 15: *ne-ri-ib-[tum]*. Identification of Neribtum with Ishchālī may be considered.

seem to be the first²⁷ to appear in Khafājah after Abdierah. Moreover, the fact that Belakum fashioned a cult statue of the goddess Inanna of Kiti (see date formula No. 102) suggests relations with Ishchālī, where she was the principal goddess.

Among the local rulers mentioned in the Khafājah D archive (see p. 123), which evidently represents the period of weakness in Eshnunna, is one Hammidashur. This Hammidashur was contemporaneous with a ruler named Sumunumhim, as shown by a treaty between them found in Ishchālī.²⁸ Sumunumhim is mentioned on tablets from Marad also; and these tablets belong to the time of Sumulael of Babylon, for at least two of the persons mentioned on tablets dated to Sumunumhim are named on another tablet of this lot which is dated to the 20th year of Sumulael.²⁹ We can accordingly draw up the following synchronism:

Abdierah	}	Hammidashur—Sumunumhim—Sumulael
Shiqplanum		
Sharria		
Belakum		

That is, one of the local rulers who possessed Khafājah between the reign of Abdierah and that of Belakum was contemporaneous with Sumulael of Babylon. This result agrees in a most satisfactory manner with our previous synchronism which made Abdierah a contemporary of Sumulael's father Sumuabum.

3. IBALPIEL II—HAMMURABI

This synchronism has been well discussed by Koschaker.³⁰ We give here a summary of the main facts. The archive on which the synchronism is based was found at Ishchālī. It consists of private business documents and seems to have been started by a certain Bursin and to have been carried on by Bursin's son, Ilushunašir, to whom the bulk of the archive belongs. The period during which it was formed may be estimated to have been at most twenty to thirty years, since the dated tablets which it contains (about fifty-five) yield only nineteen different year dates.³¹ The archive was formed during the reigns of Dadusha and his son Ibalpiel II, as shown by references to these rulers in the date formulas and elsewhere (cf. p. 129). Among

²⁷ If Waradsa had preceded Sharria and Belakum, the name of Sharria as well as that of his son Belakum should have been found at Khafājah; but such is not the case. This fact supports our assumption on p. 121 that Waradsa followed Belakum.

²⁸ The tablet, found by illicit diggers, was purchased and is now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago; it will be published later.

²⁹ The Marad tablets have been published by L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1925) Texts 232-34, 240, 251-57. The provenience of the tablets is clear from the fact that the oath is constantly taken in the name of Lugalmaradda, the city god of Marad. A collation of these tablets in September, 1931, made possible by the courtesy of M. Jean Capart, gave the following result: Among the witnesses listed on tablet O. 219 (Speleers, *op. cit.* Text 233) are two brothers, *kù(!)-^dnin-šubur mār ilu-ba-ni* (line 18) and *^dsin(EN-ZU)-li-di-iš mār ilu(!)-ba-ni* (line 19). The tablet was written in the reign of Sumunumhim, as shown by the oath: *mu ^dlugal-marad-da ù su-mu-nu-um-ḫi-im in-pà-dè-eš* (lines 13-15). The date formula reads: *[mu ^gu-za 'bá-ra'(!) ^dni[n-...] -ri(!) mu-na-dím* (lines 26-27), "Year: 'He made the throne of the dais of Nin. . . ri'" (cf. Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 194, year [35]; *dím* is certain, and the spacing on the tablet shows that *-ri* belongs with the name of the goddess). In another document, O. 218 (Speleers, *op. cit.* Text 232), the oath formula is: *mu ^dlugal-marad-da ù su-mu-la-il in-pà-dè-eš* (lines 14-16). The tablet must therefore belong to the time of Sumulael of Babylon, a fact which is confirmed by the date formula (line 25): *mu ka-zal-lu^k ba-ḫu[l]*, i.e., the formula for the 20th year of Sumulael. On this document we meet again the two brothers mentioned in O. 219: *kù-^dnin-šubur* in line 7 (*ki(!) kù(!)-^dnin(!)-šubur(!)*) and—as *kù(!)-^dnin-šubur mār ilu-ba-ni*—in a seal impression on the tablet, *^dsin(EN-ZU)-li-di-iš* among the witnesses (lines 17-19): *i gi ^dsin(EN-ZU)-li-di-iš(!) i gi i-li-iš-me-a-ni i gi ilu-šu-i-bi(!)-šu mār^{meš} ilu(!)-ba(!)-ni*.

³⁰ See p. 117, n. 6.

³¹ Koschaker (ZA XLIII 211) estimates the period as at most 40 to 50 years, which seems to me higher than necessary.

these tablets, now, are two which are dated "Year: 'Shamshiadad died.'" That Dadusha or Ibalpiel II should commemorate this fact in a date formula is hardly explicable if he was not dependent on Shamshiadad. The assumption that Eshnunna at that time acknowledged the supremacy of a king Shamshiadad is supported by the fact that another northern Babylonian state also, namely Babylon, had to acknowledge a Shamshiadad as overlord, as shown by a tablet dated to the 10th year of Hammurabi, in which Shamshiadad is mentioned in the oath along with Hammurabi.³²

This Shamshiadad, who dominated northern Babylonia at the time of Hammurabi, can be no other than Shamshiadad I of Assyria; for that king, according to his own inscriptions,³³ "made the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates obedient"; moreover, he took the title *šar kiš*, which is intimately connected with the authority over northern Babylonia. The time of Shamshiadad's³⁴ supremacy in Babylonia is fixed by the Hammurabi tablet just mentioned at about the 10th year of that ruler. At approximately that time, therefore, we must place the archive of Ilushunašir, in which the death of Shamshiadad is recorded, and the reigns of Dadusha and Ibalpiel II, during whose time the archive was formed.³⁵ This gives us the synchronism

Dadusha	}	{ Dominance of Shamshiadad in northern Babylonia—10th year of Hammurabi.
Ibalpiel II	}	

We have no evidence on which to decide for certain under which of the two rulers the submission to Shamshiadad took place; but Dadusha was deified, and both he and Ibalpiel II call themselves "mighty king, king of Eshnunna," titles which are hardly suitable for vassal rulers. We may therefore assume that the inscriptions in which these titles occur date from a time before Eshnunna submitted to Assur, which would necessarily place Shamshiadad's conquest in the later of the two reigns, that of Ibalpiel II.^{35a} Our third synchronism will then take the following form:

Ibalpiel II—Shamshiadad—10th year of Hammurabi.

On the basis of these three synchronisms³⁶ we may then correlate the rulers of Babylon and Eshnunna as shown on the following page.³⁷

³² Hermann Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon* (PUBC VI 1 [1906]) No. 26:12; M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek" V [Leipzig, 1913]) No. 284.

³³ Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* ("Altorientalische Bibliothek" I [Leipzig, 1926]) p. 22, Šamši-Adad I, No. 1 i 1-8.

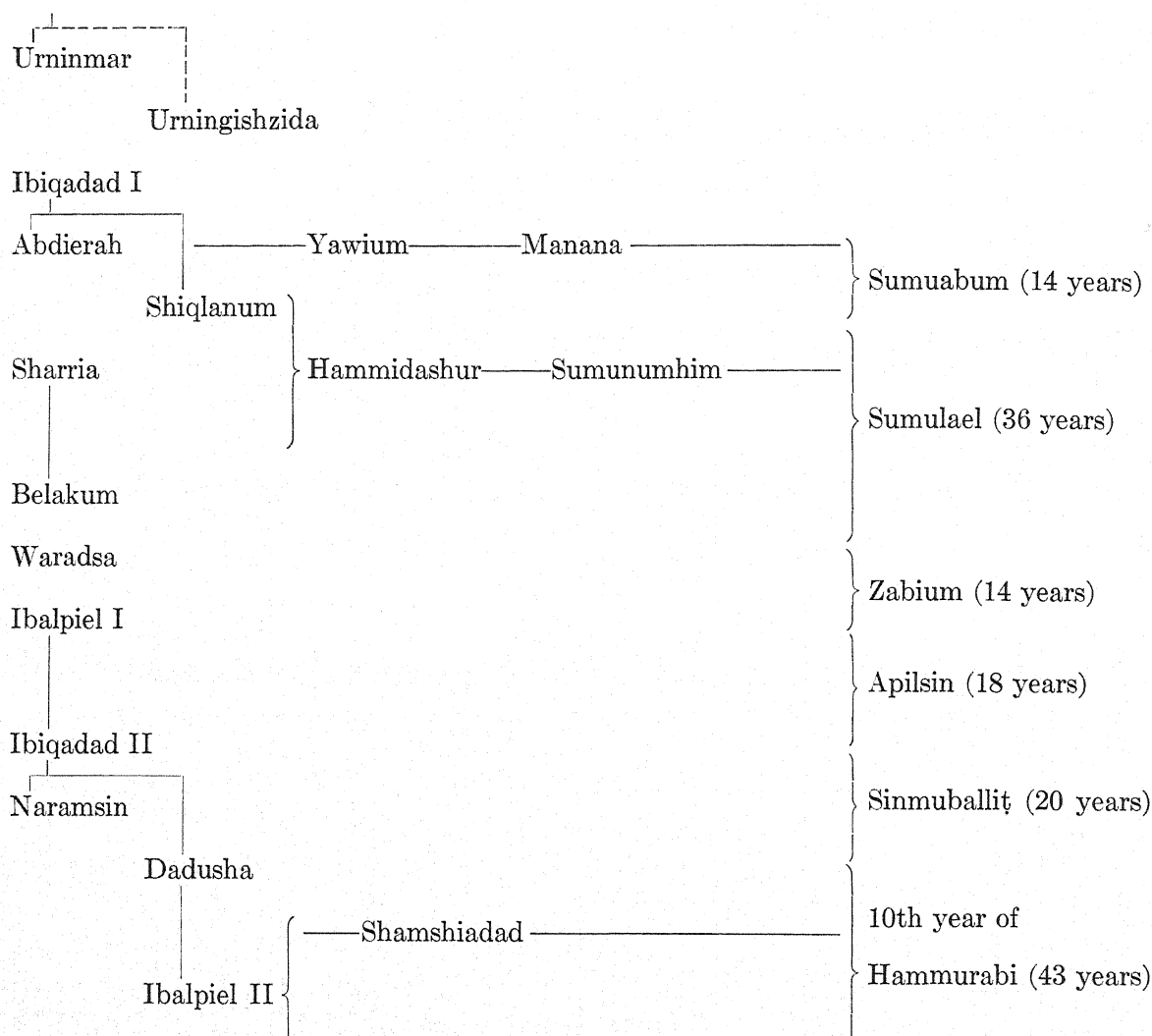
³⁴ That we are dealing with Shamshiadad I of Assyria is also indicated by the tablet Ish. 34:T.69, which lists rations paid out. Among the entries is one to 1 lú a-wa-a-l^{ki} 1 lú i-lí-ka-ab-ka-bu u, [x+]₆-ka-m, "One man from Awal, one man of Ilikabkabu on the x+6th day." This Ilikabkabu is clearly Ilakabkabu the father of Shamshiadad. The tablet was found in the Kititum temple in the top stratum, which dates from the reign of Ibalpiel II.

³⁵ This dating is confirmed by new finds from Maeri showing that Ibalpiel II was a contemporary of Hammurabi and Rimsin; see Georges Dossin in Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Comptes rendus des séances*, 1937, pp. 17 f. Cf. n. 63 below.

^{35a} For this note see p. 244.

³⁶ A fourth synchronism, that of Naramsin—Sumuabum, proposed by Ungnad in *OLZ* XII (1909) 478 f., has not been included here. If this synchronism were reliable, our list of rulers would be considerably upset. It is, however, based merely on the assumption that a person Kukku mentioned in *VAS* VIII 3:6, which is dated to the reign of Naramsin, is identical with one Kukua who appears in *VAS* VIII 1:4 and 2:4, an inscription which belongs to the reign of Sumuabum. As Koschaker has rightly pointed out (*ZA* XLIII 217, n. 2), there is nothing but the similarity of the two names to suggest an identification, and that similarity is most likely mere accident.

³⁷ Since the exact lengths of the reigns of the rulers of Eshnunna are unknown, we have endeavored to space our list according to generations, on the principle that normally each generation will take up approximately the same amount of space. Thus we have allotted the same space to the period of Ibiqadad II—Naramsin—Dadusha, which represents one generation only, as to that of Dadusha—Ibalpiel II, which also represents a generation. In the case of Shiqulanum—Sharria and of Belakum—Waradsa—Ibalpiel I, we have had to space arbitrarily as we do not know the relation between these rulers.



The synchronisms, as far as they go, agree well with the list of rulers of Eshnunna arrived at above (p. 122); for Abdierah, Shiqianum-Sharria, and Ibalpiel II appear in that list in such order and at such intervals as the synchronisms with Sumuabum, Sumulael, and Hammurabi respectively would lead us to suppose.

SYNCHRONISMS OF EVENTS

Having thus correlated the list of rulers of Eshnunna with that of rulers of Babylon, we may consider whether the historical events associated with the various rulers of Eshnunna at this period fit into the pattern of the general history of Babylonia, as they should do if our list of these rulers and its correlation with the Babylonian list is correct. The events in question are best discussed under three different headings.

1. IBIQADAD'S CAPTURE OF RAPIKU

A tablet in the British Museum (BM 82498) has the date formula *m u r a - b i - k u m^{ki} i - b i - i q - a d a d b a - d i b*,³⁸ "Year: 'Ibiqadad took Rapiku.'" This formula has been

³⁸ L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (London, 1900) III 239, n. 72. King gives the personal determinative (*m*...) in front of the name. Koschaker (*op. cit.*), using a transliteration furnished by Sidney Smith, omits it.

frequently discussed. King, who first dealt with it,³⁹ thought that it was a more explicit form of the date on another tablet (BM 82438), which, according to him, reads *mu uru ra-bi-kum^{ki}* (Sidney Smith⁴⁰ reads *ku[?]* instead of *u ru*), and assigned both to the reign of Hammurabi, apparently because in the last-mentioned tablet the oath is taken in the name of Hammurabi.

Dr. Frankfort, in a preliminary report, identified the Ibiqadad mentioned in the first of these formulas with Ibiqadad II of Eshnunna, who calls himself "enlarger of Eshnunna";⁴¹ and, as he was under the misapprehension that it was BM 82438 which had the date *mu ra-bi-kum^{ki} i-bi-iq-adad ba-dib*, the fact that this tablet mentions Hammurabi in the oath seemed to be proof that Ibiqadad II was contemporary with Hammurabi.⁴²

The true relation between BM 82438 and BM 82498 was cleared up by Koschaker,⁴³ who rightly identified the date of BM 82438 (*mu uru ra-bi-kum^{ki}*) as an abbreviated form of the formula for the 11th year of Hammurabi, *mu ra-bi-kum ù ša-li-bi*, and different from the date of BM 82498, in which Ibiqadad is mentioned. As for the date of BM 82498, "Year: 'Ibiqadad took Rapiku,'" Koschaker was inclined to reject Frankfort's identification of this Ibiqadad with Ibiqadad II.⁴⁴ Like Frankfort in his early report, Koschaker accepted a date for Ibiqadad II just before the final destruction of Eshnunna by Hammurabi; and he rightly objected to placing a capture of Rapiku by Eshnunna at that time, since it would not conform with the political situation. He therefore proposed to identify Ibiqadad of the date formula on BM 82498 with an Ibiqadad who would have reigned earlier than Hammurabi: that is, with Ibiqadad I, son of Urninmar and builder of the Ibiqadad I palace, who was then considered to be the father of Naramsin and Dadusha.⁴⁵

The arguments which led Frankfort to identify the Ibiqadad of the date formula with Ibiqadad II and those which led Koschaker to doubt that identification are all sound. The difficulties arose out of the old arrangement of the succession of the rulers of Eshnunna, which made Ibiqadad II appear at much too late a date.⁴⁶ As has been shown on page 117, Ibiqadad II, the "enlarger of Eshnunna," is the same as Ibiqadad, father of Naramsin and Dadusha, and his reign falls before the time of Hammurabi. To this ruler, accordingly, point both Frankfort's argument that the Rapiku formula is best assigned to that Ibiqadad whom we know to be a conqueror, the "enlarger of Eshnunna," and also Koschaker's view that the Ibiqadad of the formula must have lived prior to Hammurabi and that he is likely to have been the father of Naramsin, since the latter is known to have possessed parts of the country west of the Tigris. We may accordingly assign the capture of Rapiku to Ibiqadad II;⁴⁶ for, to judge from the synchronistic table which we have drawn up (see p. 126), the reign of Ibiqadad II should coincide in part with that of Apilsin of Babylon, and there is nothing in our sources which would make it unlikely that Eshnunna captured Rapiku at that time.⁴⁷

³⁹ King, *op. cit.* The tablets in question have been renumbered since the time of King, and we are using the new numbers. BM 82498 is King's Bu. 91-5-9, 2,515; BM 82438 is his Bu. 91-5-9, 2,480.

⁴⁰ See Koschaker in *ZA* XLIII 213, n. 3.

⁴³ See *ZA* XLIII 212 f.

⁴¹ *OIC* No. 13, p. 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 217 f.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 39.

⁴⁵ See the king list of *OIC* No. 13, pp. 40 f.

⁴⁶ The question of the Rapiku date on tablet BM 82498 has been further complicated by the occurrence of a similar formula *mu ra-pi-kum^{ki} ba(-an)-gul* on documents from Ishchālī. This formula belongs to the reign of Ibalpiel II (see p. 129, n. 54) and has nothing to do with Ibiqadad and BM 82498.

⁴⁷ Koschaker discusses in this connection an unpublished date formula from Ishchālī dealing with the capture of a city Dūr-rutumme(?) by one Ibiqadad. This formula has also been referred to by Frankfort in *OIC* No. 13, p. 36. In both places the fact that the reading of the city name is only tentative has been mentioned. I use this opportunity to stress it once more. The formula occurs thus far on one tablet only, and the signs are crowded and partly damaged. I

2. NARAMSIN'S RULE IN SIPPAR

A date formula of Naramsin has been found in Sippar.⁴⁸ We know that almost every ruler of Babylon from Sumuabum down to Hammurabi held Sippar at one time or another. To place Naramsin before Sumuabum is impossible (see synchronism between predecessors of Naramsin and rulers of Babylon, pp. 122-24); so Koschaker, who has discussed the matter thoroughly,⁴⁹ comes to the conclusion that one of the Babylonian rulers must have lost Sippar for a short time to Eshnunna. This explanation is no doubt correct. A not inconsiderable number of tablets dated to kings of Babylon has been found in Sippar. Distributing them according to their dates, we find that from the 7th year of Sinmuballit down into the reign of Hammurabi almost every year is represented, missing only the 9th, 15th, 17th, 18th, and 20th years of Sinmuballit; but no such tablets have been found for a span of six years from the 14th year of Apilsin through the 1st year of Sinmuballit, nor for a span of four years from the 3d year of Sinmuballit to his 6th year inclusive. Farther back, the formulas appear sparsely, at intervals of varying length. According to our synchronistic table (see p. 126) Naramsin's reign should fall somewhere near the earlier part of that of Sinmuballit; that is, around just those gaps of four and six years for which dominance of Babylon in Sippar is not attested. It is accordingly perfectly possible that for a short time, perhaps no more than a year or two, Sippar fell into the hands of Naramsin of Eshnunna.

One more point is worth noticing. Ibiqadad II conquered the district west of Eshnunna as far as Rapiku on the Euphrates (see above). His son Naramsin appears as dominating Sippar in the southwest corner of that district; but whereas Ibiqadad II called himself "enlarger of Eshnunna" and "shepherd of the black-headed people," these titles were dropped by Naramsin. It would therefore seem that the expansion stopped and that part of the conquests was lost during the time of Naramsin. This conclusion is in perfect agreement with the historical data of the time in which our list would put Naramsin; for in the 4th year of Sinmuballit (= Rimsin's 14th year) Rapiku is mentioned as an independent member of a coalition with Uruk, Isin, Babylon, and Sutu,⁵⁰ and in the 7th year of Sinmuballit Sippar is known for certain to be again firmly in the hands of Babylon. Both these events should fall in the first part of Naramsin's reign.

read m u i - b i - i q - d a d a d d ū r (or EZEN?) - m r ū (or possibly l á instead of m r ū ?) - t u l - u m - m e ' i n l - d [i] b (?). I merely call attention to this formula and the possible identity of the city name with Durrudumme, mentioned by Sennacherib (*LAR* II § 261), in the hope that other scholars will be on the lookout for such a date formula. However, as long as no second specimen has turned up to corroborate the reading, it is not safe to draw any conclusions from it.

⁴⁸ *VAS* VIII, No. 3 (VAT 735); Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, No. 213. The suggestion of Landsberger that the tablet may have come not from Sippar but from the Diyālā region (see Koschaker in *ZA* XLIII 217) has little in its favor, for presumably *VAS* VIII, No. 3, belongs to the same lot as the other tablets published in that volume, for which again and again Sippar is indicated as provenience.

⁴⁹ *ZA* XLIII 216 f. In this discussion the date formula "Year: 'Naramsin conquered Dūr-balaṭi'" is quoted (cf. p. 118, n. 7, above). This reading was given with reserve in *OIC* No. 13, p. 35. The reason for that reserve was that the first sign of the name of the city was imperfectly preserved, and accordingly the reading was not certain. Recent finds have produced a clear specimen of the formula (*Ish*. 34:T.112) which shows that we should read *ka(!)-ku(!)-la-tim*. Identification with Dūr-balaṭi, mentioned by Tukultinurta II of Assyria, is therefore excluded. *Kakulatim* appears as *ka-ku(?) text ba!)-la-tum*^{ki} in the vocabulary of Louvre AO 6447 obv. v 18 (published by C. F. Jean in *RA* XXXII [1935] 161-74) and as *kak-kus-la-tum*^{ki} in *CT* XXXII (1912) Pl. 19 i 6 and iv 14. Since the latter text is dealing with towns in the region near the mouth of the Diyālā, *Kakulatim* should evidently be sought in that area. See also the copy of a letter of Idindagan of Isin, Poebel, *PUMBP* V, No. LXV 1 and 15, where the city is mentioned as *ka-ku-l[a-tum]* and *ka-ku-la-tum*.

⁵⁰ See the formula for 14th year of Rimsin (Ungnad in *RLA* II 162, year 216). On the correlation of the rulers of Larsa and Babylon see F. Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad* (Paris, 1918).

3. DATES FROM THE ILUSHUNASIR ARCHIVE

In this archive, which belongs to the time of Dadusha and his son Ibalpiel II (see pp. 117 and 124), appear a number of date formulas referring to political events of importance. These formulas are:

Year: "Shamshiadad died"⁵¹

Year when the daughter of the king was married off to Rapiku⁵²

Year when Dadusha captured Mankisu⁵³

Year: "Rapiku was sacked"⁵⁴

Year when Ibalpiel captured the troops of the land of Subartu.⁵⁵

As shown above, the first of these formulas, that relating to Shamshiadad's death, indicates that Eshnunna at that time was dependent upon Shamshiadad of Assyria (see p. 125); this allows us to date the archive roughly to the first part of Hammurabi's reign.

Such a date for the archive agrees well with the second formula, that recording the marriage of the king's daughter to the ruler of Rapiku; for this marriage suggests that Rapiku at that time was a state of political importance. That accords with the fact already mentioned, that at the beginning of Sinmuballit's reign in Babylon Rapiku took part in a coalition against Rimsin. The formula belongs to the earliest part of the archive⁵⁶ and should therefore be assigned to Dadusha, that is, to the end of Sinmuballit's reign.

The third formula also, "Year when Dadusha captured Mankisu," agrees with other data concerning this period. Mankisu was situated on the Tigris,⁵⁷ and the fact that Dadusha was occupied with campaigns so near home is in keeping with the loss of a large part of Ibiqadad's conquests during the time of Naramsin. Moreover, that Eshnunna captured Mankisu sometime during the beginning of Hammurabi's reign corresponds with the fact that this city is known to have been within Eshnunna's territory in the 32d year of that ruler; for Hammurabi

⁵¹ Lutz, *Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjaly*, texts Nos. 5-6 (pp. 80 f.). The date appears also on tablets from Ishchali bought in Baghdad by the Oriental Institute in 1930 and on a tablet found during the excavations there, Ish. 34:T.49; these tablets will be published later. I have seen it also on tablets offered for sale in Baghdad and reported to come from Alwiyyah, just outside the city. There the name was spelled out in interesting fashion: *sa-am-si-e-adad*.

⁵² *Ibid.* text No. 61 (p. 134); read: *šanat mārāt(DUMU-SAL) šarrim a-na ra-pi-ki-īm i-ḥu-zu*, literally "Year when he (i.e., the ruler of Rapiku?) took the daughter of the king (in marriage) to Rapiku."

⁵³ *Ibid.* text No. 7 (p. 82); read: *šanat ma(!)-an-ki(!)-su(!)^{ki} da(!)-du-ša iṣ-ba-tu*, "Year when Dadusha took Mankisu," not "Year when Gimil-šamaš afflicted the soil of the city" (as *op. cit.* p. 50).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* texts Nos. 8, 47, and 68 (pp. 83, 121, and 139). The formula occurs also on tablets from Ishchali which were bought by the Oriental Institute and on two tablets (Ish. 35:T.53 and Ish. 34:T.144) found there during the excavations. Ish. 35:T.53 was found in an indisputably Ibalpiel II context: in ashes in a pivot-stone box of the Ibalpiel II rebuilding of the Kititum temple. The tablet lists entries for some months in the year *mu ra-pi-ku m^{ki} ba(-an)-gul* and for the period from the month Niggallim in the year *mu 'ē(?) sá-gar-ra-a-ni' 'ē(?) 'sin(EN-ZU) ba-an-?'*, "Year: 'He built(?) his 'House of Judgment,' the temple of Sin,'" to the month Kiskisum in the year *mu erin su-bir^{ki} ištukul ba-an-sig(?)*. Tablet Ish. 34:T.144 also was found in an Ibalpiel II layer, in R 30:2. At the time we erroneously considered the floor on which the tablet was found as belonging to the rebuilding of Ibiqadad II (see *OIC* No. 20, p. 78). Further investigation has now shown that the tablet should be assigned to the Ibalpiel II period.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* text No. 58 (p. 131); read: *šanat šab ma-at su(!)-bar-tim i-ba-al-pi-el i-ḥu(?) -zu(!)*. Variants of this formula are *mu erin su-bir^{ki} ba-dib* [...] (*ibid.* text No. 23 [p. 100]) and *mu erin su-bir^{ki} ištukul ba-an-sig(?)* (Ish. 35:T.53).

⁵⁶ Cf. Koschaker in *ZA* XLIII 215, n. 2.

⁵⁷ As shown by the formula for the 32d year of Hammurabi (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 180, year 134); see also Thureau-Dan-gin in *RA* XXXIII (1936) 176, n. 1.

began his campaign of that year against Eshnunna, Subartu, and Gutium by attacking Mankisu.⁵⁸

The fourth formula, "Year: 'Rapiku was sacked,'" at first glance seems more peculiar. It is difficult to imagine that Eshnunna suddenly became so powerful that it could strike across the Tigris as far as the Euphrates and again capture Rapiku (cf. pp. 126 f.). The very simple solution to this difficulty is probably that Eshnunna did not act on its own in this matter. As we have seen, northern Babylonia was at that time in the strong hands of Shamshiadad of Assyria and formed part of his empire. It is obviously improbable that a strong ruler would suffer his vassals to indulge in private wars among themselves; so the only natural explanation of the sacking of Rapiku is that it was a punitive measure, the quelling of a local rebellion, carried out by Shamshiadad himself. Although the main part of his army was Assyrian, there would of course also be contingents sent by Shamshiadad's vassals; and the participation of such a contingent from Eshnunna would explain the fact that the event is mentioned in a date formula of that city. The participation of troops from vassal states will also explain why the event can be mentioned in a date formula of Hammurabi.⁵⁹ Hammurabi at that time occupied a position similar to that of the ruler of Eshnunna, and his dependence upon Shamshiadad was felt so strongly that Shamshiadad is mentioned with Hammurabi in the oath formula of a document written in Babylon in the very year when the sack of Rapiku must have taken place. That the capture and destruction of Rapiku was essentially an Assyrian undertaking may throw light also on the curious fact that a duck weight belonging to a daughter of Dadusha has been found as far away as Assur.⁶⁰ We have seen above that a daughter of Dadusha was married to the ruler of Rapiku. Her duck weight, therefore, may well have been carried to Assur as part of the spoil which Shamshiadad's troops took from the palace in Rapiku.⁶¹

The fifth date formula from the Ilushunašir archive refers to a war with Subartu: "Year when Ibalpiel captured the troops of the land of Subartu." A document from Ishchālī dated with this formula⁶² refers in the text to deliveries made in "the year: 'Rapiku was sacked.'" Ibalpiel's war with Subartu must therefore be of later date than the destruction of Rapiku. Since "Subartu" at this time can refer only to Assyria, it seems probable that the war in

⁵⁸ The formula for his 32d year states that Hammurabi conquered Mankisu and the bank of the Tigris up to Subartu. Mankisu would thus appear to be the point where his attack was begun. An extremely interesting letter which seems to have been sent from the camp of Hammurabi before Mankisu has recently been published by Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 171-77. [Note also the reference to men of Eshnunna at the ford (*né-bé-er*) of Mankisu in another letter from Maeri quoted by Jean in *RA* XXXV (1938) 110.]

⁵⁹ The sack of Rapiku is commemorated in the formula for the 11th year of Hammurabi and must accordingly have happened the year before, i.e., in the 10th year, the year to which *PUBC* VI 1, No. 26, is dated (see p. 125).

⁶⁰ The duck weight of Inibshina, published by Schroeder; see p. 117, n. 5.

⁶¹ A different but equally consistent view of the course of events during these years is held by Koschaker (see *op. cit.* p. 215). He assumes that Shamshiadad's power had weakened considerably around the 10th year of Hammurabi, and that it was this weakening of the central power which enabled Hammurabi to make a private war on Malgium (recorded in the formula for his 10th year) and in alliance with Eshnunna to attack and destroy Rapiku the year after. The duck weight found in Assur he seems to consider as spoil taken in Eshnunna when Shamshiadad made that country subject to him (*ibid.* p. 214). There are two important reasons why the view taken in the text seems to us preferable. First, the document *PUBC* VI 1, No. 26, in which the name of Shamshiadad is included in the oath formula, was written in Babylon in the very year when the sack of Rapiku must have taken place (cf. n. 59 above). I can imagine only one reason why the parties should not be content to swear by Hammurabi alone, namely that they foresaw that any further lawsuits arising out of the case would be tried at a court of appeal outside and above the jurisdiction of Babylon. But if citizens of Babylon could appeal to higher courts functioning under Shamshiadad, his dominance must have been very real indeed, and it is therefore not likely that Hammurabi could act as a practically independent king. Secondly, the theory advanced by Koschaker presumes that Babylon and Eshnunna attacked Rapiku. But—as Koschaker himself notes—Eshnunna and Rapiku were on friendly terms not so long before; and close ties united the ruling families, since the ruler of Rapiku was married to the daughter or sister of the ruler of Eshnunna. All in all, therefore, the more probable assumption seems to be that Hammurabi's war on Malgium and the participation of Eshnunna and Babylon in the sack of Rapiku were undertaken at the bidding of a third and stronger party, Shamshiadad.

⁶² *Ish.* 35:T.53; cf. p. 129 above, notes 54-55.

question represents an effort by Ibalpiel II to rid himself of the Assyrian supremacy; perhaps it was prompted by the death of Shamshiadad. Whether the effort was successful or Eshnunna remained a vassal of Assyria under Ishmedagan is difficult to determine with certainty, for the victory recorded in the date formula may have been only a passing event. We find Eshnunna closely allied with Assyria during the final struggle with Hammurabi some twenty years later.^{62a} This fact might suggest that the vassalage still existed, but the evidence is not conclusive. It is equally possible that the alliance against Hammurabi was forced upon Eshnunna by the momentary political situation, the necessity of checking the growing power of Babylon. However, whether Ibalpiel's rebellion mentioned on our date formula was successful or not is of less importance than the fact that its occurrence at the time and under the circumstances to which it has been assigned is perfectly plausible.⁶³

Summing up the argument, we can state that the new arrangement of the rulers of Eshnunna, that given on page 122, seems to agree on all points with such knowledge as we have of the history of Babylonia in that period. The correlation of our list, by means of synchronisms, with that of rulers of Babylon shows that the rulers of Eshnunna appear in the list in the right order and with correct intervals of time. Similarly it has been possible to show that the major political events associated with rulers on our list all fit in plausibly with the political situation at the times to which the rulers in question have been assigned.

Further evidence supporting the order of the new list of rulers may be found in the discussion of the orthography of the building inscriptions; see also the table presented in the discussion of the dating of date formula No. 113.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

(Pls. XIII-XVIII)

The building inscriptions from the area described in chapters i and ii are, with the exception of No. 1 (see below), all short inscriptions stamped on baked bricks which were used for pavements, drains, revetments of walls, etc. in the successive palaces uncovered.



The historical evidence contained in these inscriptions has already been discussed in this chapter.⁶⁴ A few words should be said, however, about orthography and style; for, although most of the inscriptions look alike except for the proper names which they contain, yet there are several small changes, both in arrangement and in the shape of certain signs, which are of interest. As a basis for determining and dating these changes we can, naturally, use only those of our inscriptions which belong to rulers whose place in the chronological scheme is already reasonably certain. Only these are discussed here. Two inscriptions cannot yet be dated—Nos. 12a and 13a. Their probable place in the scheme of stylistic and orthographic development, as suggested by the datable material, is discussed in detail together with other dating evidence in the notes to these inscriptions.



^{62a} For this note see p. 244.



⁶³ [The important new material found at Maeri suggests that Ibalpiel II actually succeeded in ridding himself of the Assyrian supremacy. Dossin (see n. 35) quotes a letter: "Il n'y a pas un seul roi, qui, à lui tout seul, soit réellement puissant! 10 ou 15 rois suivront Hammurapi, le Babylonien; autant suivront Rîm-Sîn, le Larséen, autant suivront Ibal-pî-el, l'Ešnunniakien," etc. Here Ibalpiel appears as an independent, fairly powerful ruler leading a group of 10 to 15 other kings. This letter may be dated to shortly before the 30th year of Hammurabi. Also important are the letters (*Syria* XIX 121 f.) dealing with an incursion into the district on the banks of the Euphrates by troops of Eshnunna. The place names—Rāpiku, Harbî'e, Ayabi, and Yabliya—and the number of men in one raiding party, 6000, show Eshnunna's power.]



⁶⁴ For the first half of the period see Frankfort's study in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 25-35.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The most notable orthographic changes concern the signs TE, RA, I, and SUH. The first of these, TE, is in the older inscriptions (i.e., from Ituria to Azuzum) written so that the two lines forming the back of the lozenge end in a point: . From Urninmar onward, however, these lines are continued beyond the point where they meet: .

The sign RA in the older inscriptions (i.e., from Ituria to Urningishzida) is written with four vertical lines: . Beginning with Ibiqadad I the first two of these lines are dropped, and the sign appears as .

The sign I in the earliest inscriptions is written , with the heads of the two back wedges placed opposite the spaces between the three front wedges. On the bricks of Ibiqadad I and Sharria the shape of the sign is altered; the lowest of the three front wedges is carried through to the end of the sign, and the two back wedges are raised so that they are in line with the upper two front wedges: . This new form of the sign does not last long; with Ibalpiel I the original form of the sign comes back and remains to the end of the period.

The sign SUH, used to represent the name of the chief god of Eshnunna (Tishpak), varies in form on several points. However, owing to its complicated form this sign generally does not print well from the stamp to the brick; so the development of most of the small changes is difficult to follow. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a single variation which can be traced with certainty. In the inscriptions from Nurahum to Ibalpiel I the outline of the front part of the sign forms a rectangle: . Beginning with the time of Ibiqadad II the outline is changed, and an oblique line now cuts off the lower right-hand corner of that rectangle: .

ARRANGEMENT

The majority of the brick inscriptions, Nos. 2-3 and 5-12, belong to a standard type (A) which gives only the name and titles of the ruler. The inscriptions belonging to this type show certain slight differences in the arrangement of the text; thus the oldest inscriptions, those of Nurahum (No. 2) and Bilalama (No. 3), arrange the words as illustrated by Type A 1. It

A TYPES

Type A 1	Type A 2	Type A 3
<u>N.</u>	<u>N.</u>	<u>N.</u>
<u>na-ra-am</u>	<u>na-ra-am</u>	<u>na-ra-am ^dtišpak</u>
<u>^dtišpak</u>	<u>^dtišpak</u>	<u>išak</u>
<u>išak</u>	<u>išak</u>	<u>áš-nun-na^{ki}</u>
<u>áš-nun-na^{ki}</u>	<u>áš-nun-na^{ki}</u>	

will be noted that, although the words *na-ra-am* ^d*tišpak* are written in two lines, the inscription is ruled as if they formed only one line.

In the time of Isharramashu, however, this arrangement is abandoned, and in Nos. 5-8 the ruling corresponds to the actual number of lines (Type A 2).

Finally, with Ibiqadad I *narām^dtišpak* is compressed to only one line (see No. 9), and the inscription is ruled accordingly (Type A 3). This innovation was practical when the name of the ruler was of sufficient length. It did not, however, work well with a short name. Therefore in the inscriptions of Sharria and Belakum, whose names are written with only three signs each, the arrangement of Type A 2 was used again (see Nos. 10–11); and only with Ibalpiel I, whose name contains five signs, does the new style (Type A 3) reappear (No. 12).

With Ibiqadad II, the son of Ibalpiel I, the old standard type of inscription is superseded by a new and different type, the “genealogical inscription”⁶⁵ (Type B). This type occurs in three forms. The earliest is represented by the inscription of Ibiqadad II (No. 13) and has the arrangement of Type B 1. It will be noted that the religious title of the ruler, “beloved of

B TYPES

Type B 1	Type B 2	Type B 3
N.	N.	N.
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>	<i>šarrum da-an-nu-um</i>	<i>wardum ša^dtišpak</i>
<i>šarrum mu-ra-pí-iš</i>	<i>šār èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	<i>išak</i>
<i>èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	<i>èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>
<i>rē²u ša-al-ma-at</i>	<i>mār F.</i>	<i>mār F.</i>
<i>qá-qá-dī-im</i>		
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>		
<i>mār F.</i>		

Tishpak (*narām^dtišpak*),” now stands second to the secular titles; that the simple “*ishakku* of Eshnunna” has now been replaced by the proud “mighty king, king who enlarges Eshnunna, shepherd of the black-headed (people)”; and that the ruler now mentions the name of his father. New likewise is the orthography *èš-nun-na^{ki}* instead of *áš-nun-na^{ki}*.

A later form of the genealogical type of inscription (Type B 2) has a less elaborate secular title and uses the later spelling *da-an-nu-um* instead of *da-núm*. This form is the one used by Naramsin and Ibalpiel II (Nos. 14–15).

Still later is the third form (Type B 3). In this the religious title of the ruler again comes to the fore, but it now reads *wardum ša^dtišpak*, “servant of Tishpak,” instead of *narām^dtišpak*, “beloved of Tishpak.” The secular title is once more simply “*ishakku* of Eshnunna.” This type is represented by the inscriptions of Iqishtishpak and Šillisin (Nos. 16–17).








Besides the two main types (A and B) the datable inscriptions include examples of a third type (C). This type, represented in two forms by the pivot-stone inscription of Ituria (No. 1) and the Esikil inscription of Bilalama (No. 4), is used only in inscriptions commemorating the building of a temple. It mentions first the name and titles of the deity, then the name and titles of the ruler, then the temple; and at last comes the verb, “he built.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See *ibid.* pp. 47 f.

⁶⁶ To this type belongs also the Sumerian Esikil inscription of Shulgi, As. 31:736. A fourth type is represented by Shulgi's Akkadian inscription As. 31:765. See Jacobsen, *AS* No. 6, pp. 20–28.

SUMMARY

We may now tabulate the results:

								A 1	A 2	A 3	B 1	B 2	B 3	C 1	C 2
Ituria	✓		✓		✓									✓	
Nurahum	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓							
Bilalama	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓							✓
Isharramashu	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓						
Azuzum	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓						
Urninmar		✓	✓		✓	✓			✓						
Urningishzida		✓	✓		✓	✓			✓						
Ibiqadad I		✓		✓		✓				✓					
Sharria		✓		✓		✓			✓						
Belakum		✓		✓		✓			✓						
Ibalpiel I		✓		✓	✓	✓				✓					
Ibiqadad II				✓	✓	✓	✓				✓				
Naramsin			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓			
Dadusha				✓	✓										
Ibalpiel II				✓	✓		✓						✓		
Šillisin														✓	
Iqishtishpak		✓		✓	✓									✓	

It will be seen that they assemble into a definite and consistent picture of orthographic and stylistic development. That such a consistent picture should be presented is, incidentally, a valuable proof that the order of the rulers accepted is fundamentally correct; for it is obvious that had one or two rulers been placed wrongly in the list—too early or too late—then the vertical columns in the table would necessarily have shown inconsistencies: instances of late forms of a sign would have appeared among the early forms and vice versa. Such inconsistencies, however, are entirely absent.

TEXTS

In the following pages the transliteration and translation of each building inscription are printed in parallel columns. These are followed by a statement of provenience, comments on the inscription as a whole, and sometimes notes on details.

For the conventions adopted in transliteration see page xviii.

Building Inscription No. 1

^d šU- ^d sīn(EN-ZU)	To the divine Gimilsin,*
mu p à - da	mentioned by name
an - na	of Anu,
ki - á g ^d en-líl-lá	beloved of Enlil,
5 lugal ^d en-líl-li	the king whom Enlil
šà kù-gi p à - da	thought of in his holy heart†
nam-sipa kalam-ma	for the shepherdship of the country
ù an-ub-da-lim mu-ba-šè	and of the four quarters,
lugal kal-ga	mighty king,
10 lugal ur ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
lugal an-ub-da-lim mu-ba	king of the four quarters,
dingir-ra-ni-ir	his god,

i - t u - r i - a	Ituria†
e n s i §	the <i>ishakku</i>
15 á š - n u n - n a ^{ki} - k a	of Eshnunna,
a r a (d) - d a - n i - e ¶	his servant,
é - a - n i	his temple
m u - n a - a n - d ù	has built.

Text on pivot stones from the doorway to the cella (O 30:18) of the Gimilsin Temple; see p. 16 above and Frankfort, *OIC* No. 16, p. 5. One of these stones, As. 31: 246, is in the Baghdad Museum; the other, As. 31:792, is in the Oriental Institute in Chicago (Mus. No. A 8164).

* We have retained the reading of this name as Gimilsin in the present series because the temple has been known as the Gimilsin Temple for so long. Actually, however, we consider Shusin the better reading, since an "ideographic" writing šu-^dsīn = gimil-^dsīn would be out of keeping with the general orthographical usage of the period.

† Lit., "perceived in (on) the holy heart"; i.e., Enlil envisaged him, thought of him. The fundamental meaning of p à (d) is "to lay open to perception," as I hope to show in a special article.

‡ The name of this *ishakku* is well known from tablets of the Drehem archive. The earliest reference to him occurs on a tablet from the 9th year of Gimilsin (H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [Paris, 1911] No. 4691:11-12); the latest is from the 1st year of Ibisin (C. E. Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty* [YOSB IV (1919)] No. 72:3).

§ On this reading of PA-TE-SI in Sumerian context see A. Falkenstein in *ZA* XLII (1934) 152-54.

¶ a r a d - a n i - e ; - e is the subject element.

Building Inscription No. 2

nu-úr-a-hu-um	Nurahum,
na-ra-am	beloved
^d tišpak	of Tishpak,
išak	<i>ishakku</i>
áš-nun-na ^{ki}	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 31:T.50a) from Nurahum palace.

Building Inscription No. 3

bi-la-la-ma	Bilalama,
na-ra-am	beloved
^d tišpak	of Tishpak,
išak	<i>ishakku</i>
áš-nun-na ^{ki}	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.309) from Bilalama palace.

Building Inscription No. 4

a-na ^d tišpak	For Tishpak
be-lí-šu	his lord
bi-la-la-ma	Bilalama,
na-ra-am-šu	his beloved
5 ù na-áš-pár-šu	and his envoy,
išak	<i>ishakku</i>
áš-nun ^{ki}	of Eshnunna,
é-sikil-am	Esikil
ša i-ra-a-mu	which he loves
10 ib-ni	has built.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.302) from Bilalama palace. Such bricks have been found also in private houses elsewhere on the mound.

Photograph published in *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1, 1932, p. 504, Fig. 11. See also *OIC* No. 13, p. 45; to the reference to Esikil there quoted add *PUMBP* II 2 (1912) No. 51:23 and also No. 55:13, where 'é'-[s i k i l - l a] should probably be restored (cf. D. D. Luckenbill in *AJSL* XXXI [1914/15] 81-83). Moreover, the sign PISAN+SIKIL-LA in the Chicago Syllabary, line 263 (Luckenbill in *AJSL* XXXIII [1916/17] 183; cf. Ungnad in *ZA* XXXVIII [1929] 78, and read the line as é-s i k i l - l a | PISAN+SIKIL-LA | "[=šá pi-sa-an-ga-ku] si-kil-la la-la-a " [= i-g u b] | é-s i k i l - l a), probably refers to our temple.

Building Inscription No. 5

<i>i-šar-ra-ma-šu</i>	Isharramashu.
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
^d <i>tišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.306) from the Palace of Three Rulers; cf. pp. 63 and 118 f. See *SAK*, pp. 174 f., XVI 5, and literature quoted there.

Building Inscription No. 6

<i>a-zu-zum</i>	Azuzum,*
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
^d <i>tišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.310) from the Palace of Three Rulers.

* As shown by Thureau-Dangin, "Observations sur la graphie des sifflantes dans l'écriture cunéiforme," *RA* XXX (1933) 93-96, the sign šu is in this period read "zum," not "šu." The form Ašusu, used in *OIC* Nos. 13 and 16, should therefore be abandoned in favor of Azuzum.

Building Inscription No. 7

<i>ur-^dnin-mar^{ki}</i>	Urninmar,
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
^d <i>tišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.301) found in the Palace of Three Rulers and in the Urninmar palace; cf. p. 63.

Building Inscription No. 8

<i>ur-^dnin-giš-zi-da</i>	Urningishzida,
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
^d <i>tišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.300) from Urninmar palace; cf. pp. 70 and 119.

See *SAK*, pp. 174 f., XVI 2, and literature quoted there. For a statue inscription of Urningishzida see date formula No. 91.

Building Inscription No. 9

<i>i-bi-iq^dadad</i>	Ibiqadad,
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.303b) from Ibiqadad I palace; see pp. 77-81, and cf. p. 119.

Building Inscription No. 10

<i>šar-ri-i-a</i>	Sharria,
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
<i>^dtišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of two inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.308). Both bricks were found loose just under the surface in N 30:3. They were not in their original context.

On the date of this ruler see p. 120.

Building Inscription No. 11

<i>be-la-kum</i>	Belakum,
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
<i>^dtišpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed brick As. 30:T.304, which was found loose in the soil in the top layer of N 30:3. Duplicate bricks occurred in the private houses under the Southern Building; see p. 91.

On the dating of this ruler see p. 120.

For another example see SAK, pp. 174 f., XVI 4, and literature quoted there.

Building Inscription No. 12

<i>i-ba-al-pi-el*</i>	Ibalpiel,
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.305) from Ibalpiel I palace.

See SAK, pp. 174 f., XVI 3, and literature quoted there.

* In OIC No. 13, p. 47, n. 1, I have called attention to the fact that this name, although generally written *i-ba-al-pi-el*, also appears as *i-ba-al-bi-el*; see As. 30:T.32 (number changed from Tell Asmar 49) and Lutz, *op. cit.* text No. 44:17 (p. 118). A third spelling, *i-ba-al-bi-il*, appears in line 3 of a letter from Maeri published by Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXIII (1936) 172. Etymologically the name probably represents *ibāl-pī-El*, "my mouth prayed to El." Thureau-Dangin, who renders the name *Ibal-pī-El* (*loc. cit.*), would seem to have had this etymology in mind. On *bālu*, "to pray," see Meissner in AS No. 1, pp. 11 f.

Building Inscription No. 12a

<i>i-ba-al-pi-[el]</i>	Ibalpiel,
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of two inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 33:T.31) found together in P 27:9, under a wall, at level 32.30. Locus P 27:9 refers to remains of private houses found below P 27:2, a room in the Naramsin Audience Hall (see p. 105). The wall under which the bricks appeared was separated from the Naramsin floor above by a stratum of private houses of an intermediate building period which had the same floor level (ca. 33.10) as a neighboring building of Urninmar. The correspondence in absolute level does not, however, necessarily mean that this building period was contemporaneous with the Urninmar building; for the latter was a public building, and in most structures of that kind the floor levels rise less rapidly than in private houses. This much, however, we may deduce from the stratigraphic evidence—that the bricks are at least two generations older than Naramsin; for the two building periods which separate them from his building must represent that much as an absolute minimum.

The internal evidence of the inscriptions is hardly more helpful than the external. The shape of the sign RA is that used after Urningishzida; that of *suḡ* is the one used before Ibiqadad II. The sign *i* has the same form as in the inscriptions of Ibiqadad I and Sharria, and the arrangement of the inscription is that used by Ibiqadad I and Ibalpiel I. These indications would be consistent with a dating to the early part of the reign of Ibalpiel I; for, although in other inscriptions of this ruler the sign *i* has a different form, it would be possible to assume that the change took place in the middle of his reign. The difficulty, however, is that the sign *ṭe* has the form current before Urninmar.

The vagueness and—to some extent—the inconsistency of the dating evidence make it impossible to place this inscription with certainty. Provisionally we have ranged it with the inscription of Ibalpiel I, considering (1) that our inscription belongs to a ruler of that name; (2) that a date in his reign would be just possible if we use the minimum estimate allowed by stratigraphic evidence; and (3) that, if we assume that the change in shape of the sign *i* took place at the middle of Ibalpiel I's reign, four of our orthographical and typological indications would be compatible with such a date. The difficulties occasioned by the old form of the sign *ṭe* must then for the time being be ignored; or perhaps the form may be explained as due to accident, the scribe misjudging the angle of the oblique lines when he wrote the sign.

Building Inscription No. 13

<i>^di-bi-iq-^dadad</i>	The divine Ibiqadad,
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>	mighty king,
<i>šarrum mu-ra-pí-iš</i>	king who enlarges
<i>ēš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	Eshnunna,
<i>rē²u ṣa-al-ma-at</i>	shepherd of
<i>qá-qá-dí-im</i>	the black-headed (people),
<i>na-ra-am ^dtīšpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>mār i-ba-al-pi-el</i>	son of Ibalpiel.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.312) from paving in street south of palace; see p. 83 and cf. p. 117. See also *OIC* No. 13, p. 48.

Building Inscription No. 13a

<i>i-bi-iq-^dadad</i>	Ibiqadad,
<i>na-ra-am</i>	beloved
<i>^dtīšpak</i>	of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>āš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.303) from a pavement just below the surface.

The dating of this inscription presents a most difficult problem. These bricks all came from pavement N 30:5; see p. 82 above and Pl. VII. The pavement, which covers a vertical pottery drain (Pl. VIII 4A), was situated at the highest point of the palace site, directly above the building remains of Ibalpiel I. Since the pavement was well laid and covered with a coat of bitumen, and the bricks were all intact and all of the same type, the possibility that these bricks were in secondary use seems almost nil. From stratigraphic evidence the bricks should accordingly belong to Ibiqadad II, the son of Ibalpiel I. To quite different conclusions, however, point the orthography and arrangement of the inscription. The shape of the sign *ṭe* is the one used before Urninmar, the shape of RA is

the one used before Ibiqadad I, and that of the sign *su*g points to a date earlier than Ibiqadad II. The shape of *i* is the form used by Ibiqadad I and Sharria—a form which for all we know may date back as far as Isharramashu (see the table on p. 134). The arrangement of the inscription, finally, is that used between Bilalama and Ibiqadad I (A 2). All of this evidence would agree with a date between Bilalama and Urninmar but with no other period.

Weighing the groups of evidence one against another, we feel—at least at present—that stratigraphy would be the safer guide. We have therefore tentatively placed this inscription after that which is certainly of Ibiqadad II. That the orthographic and stylistic features of the inscription so consistently indicate a date between Bilalama and Urninmar may then be explained on the assumption that the scribe who wrote the inscription used a brick from that period as his pattern and imitated it to the most minute details. However, this explanation is not wholly satisfactory.

Building Inscription No. 14

^d <i>na-ra-am-dsîn</i> (EN-ZU)	The divine Naramsin,
<i>šarrum da-an-nu-um</i>	mighty king,
<i>šār èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	king of Eshnunna,
<i>na-ra-am ^dtīšpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>mār ^di-bi-iq-dadad</i>	son of the divine Ibiqadad.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.307) from drain in street south of palace (see pp. 84 f. and 117) and from Naramsin's Audience Hall; cf. *OIC* No. 13, p. 47. The copy is a composite based on several specimens.

Outside Eshnunna an inscription of this Naramsin has been found on the island of Cythera:

<i>a-na ^dmi(?)</i> - . . . - . . .	To the god . . . ,
<i>šār(?)</i> . . . - . . . ^{ki}	king of . . . ,
. . . ^d <i>na-ra-am-dsîn</i> (EN-ZU)	has the divine Naramsin,
<i>mār ^di-bi-iq-dadad</i>	son of the divine Ibiqadad,
<i>a-na ba-la-ti-šu</i>	for his life
[<i>išruk</i>]	presented (this).

Since this inscription is known only in a bad copy made by a layman at a time when Assyriology was in its beginnings, several of the signs are indecipherable; see Royal Society of Literature, *Transactions*, 1853, p. 255. A reproduction of the copy and a study of the text by H. Winckler are given by U. Köhler in *Kgl. Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte*, 1897, pp. 262-65; see also E. Unger in *ERV* XIII (Berlin, 1929) 313 and Pl. 58^A b. Unger's reading of the doubtful first lines, *a-na an-zak à* [. . .] *ša tilmun^{ki}*, is not probable now that we know Naramsin, son of Ibiqadad, as a king of Eshnunna. [See now E. F. Weidner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LIX (1939) 177 f.]

Building Inscription No. 15

<i>i-ba-al-pe-el</i>	Ibalpiel,
<i>šarrum da-an-nu-um</i>	mighty king,
<i>šār èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	king of Eshnunna,
<i>na-ra-am ^dtīšpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>mār da-du-ša</i>	son of Dadusha.

Text of inscribed bricks (e.g. As. 30:T.311) from drain in street south of palace; see pp. 84 f. and 117.

A fragment of this inscription, VA 3134, was published by Ungnad in *VAS* I, No. 113. Cf. Schroeder in *OLZ* XVII (1914) 247; the restoration suggested there is not supported by the material now available and should therefore be discarded.

Building Inscription No. 16

<i>i-^qi-ⁱš^l-^dtīšpak*</i>	Iqishtishpak,
<i>wardum ša ^dtīšpak</i>	servant of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>išakku</i>
<i>èš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna,
<i>mār ib-ni-era^{ra}</i>	son of Ibniirra.†

Text of inscribed brick As. 33:T.10a, found in the filling used to raise the floor of Naramsin's Audience Hall. On the date of this inscription and the circumstances of its finding see p. 100.

* A ruler of this name is mentioned also in a date formula on an unpublished tablet from Ishchālī, bought in Baghdad in 1929 and now in Chicago: [šanat] i-qi-iš-^atišpak [a-na] bīl a-bi-šu 'i-ru'-bu-ú, "Year when Iqishtishpak entered into the house of his father." This tablet will be published later. See also seal legend No. 52, of a servant of Iqishtishpak.

† Ibnirra is not mentioned elsewhere, but the wording of the formula used to commemorate Iqishtishpak's succession to the throne (see previous note) seems to suggest that his father also was a ruler of Eshnunna.

Building Inscription No. 17

[ši-]lī(?) * ^{-d} s ⁻ⁿ (EN-ZU)	Šillisin(?),
[wardum š]a ^a tišpak	servant of Tishpak,
[i]šak	ishakku
[èš-nun-]na ^{ki}	of Eshnunna,
[mār. . .]- ^d še-rum	son of . . . sherum.†

Text of inscribed brick As. 33:T.10b, found in the filling used to raise the floor of Naramsin's Audience Hall. On date and provenience of this inscription cf. No. 16 above.

* This restoration, rather than our earlier [aw]īl, is suggested by mention of Šilli-^dSin, king of Eshnunna, in a text from Maeri (Dossin in *Syria* XX [1939] 109).

† On ^dše-rum, deity of the morning, see A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Romae, 1914) p. 256, No. 3123.

SEAL LEGENDS

A considerable number of seals and seal impressions were found in the palace. The impressions occurred, for the major part, on fragments of broken jar sealings of clay; less frequently they were found on tablets. As might be expected, since these objects were found in the palace, several of the seals represented belonged to rulers of Eshnunna and mentioned in their legends the names, titles, and/or patronymics of their owners. This information, dry as it may seem, is nevertheless of considerable historical value; for it often supplements the material from brick inscriptions and date formulas and thus helps to reconstruct the list of rulers of Eshnunna and to determine their order of succession. Examples are seal legends No. 5, which contains the important piece of information that Ilushuilia was the son of Ituria; No. 12, which states that Bilalama was son of Kirikiri; and No. 40, from which we learn that Ibiqadad I was the son of Urninmar. Moreover, the titles quoted in the seal legends are sometimes important historically. Thus on a seal of Ilushuilia (No. 6) Tishpak is styled "king of the four quarters," an indication that at this period Eshnunna could claim extensive territories in northern Babylonia. Another interesting title which should be mentioned is that of "king of the land of Warum," sometimes taken by the human ruler (No. 8), sometimes ascribed to Tishpak (Nos. 6, 12, 19, and 22). This title has reference to the district around Eshnunna, and up to the present it has been found only in the seal legends.⁶⁷

Apart from the historical information contained in them, the seal legends as a well dated series are of interest also from a stylistic point of view. It will thus be noted that legends of the "a r a d - z u" type, so characteristic of seals of officials from the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur,⁶⁸ remained in favor in Eshnunna through the time of Urninmar. The only difference from the legends of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur is that seals are no longer addressed to the king of Ur. The *ishakku* now addresses his seal to Tishpak, the chief god of the city; the lesser officials, who also had addressed some of their legends to the king

⁶⁷ See the discussion of this title in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 43 f. There on page 44, n. 2, correct the reference; T.A. 310 should read T.A. 355 (=As. 30:T.355).

⁶⁸ See Nikolaus Schneider in *Orientalia* Nos. 45-46 (Roma, 1930) pp. 107-9.

of Ur (e.g. Nos. 2 and 5; but cf. No. 4), now in all of them name the *ishakku* instead. The first *ishakku* known to break away from the *a r a d - z u* type was Ibiqadad I, who in seal legend No. 40 gives only his name, titles, and patronymic. Among the seals of the officials the latest datable legend of the *a r a d - z u* type is No. 47, of the time of Waradsa.

A new type of legend on officials' seals, which was to displace the *a r a d - z u* type completely, ends in *warad N.*; hence we may call it the "*warad N.*" type. It appears in Eshnunna already in the early part of the period from Ilushuilia to Kirikiri (see seal legend No. 14); but it is not until Ibalpiel I that the *warad N.* type had entirely superseded the earlier form.

The legends of the *warad N.* type fall into two main groups. In Group A the owner of the seal states that he is the servant of Tishpak or of one or more other deities; in Group B he designates himself as servant of the *ishakku*. It seems probable that the seals of Group A were those of priests or temple officials,⁶⁹ while the seals of Group B belonged to civil servants. The earliest examples of legends of the *warad N.* type all belong to Group A; the first, No. 14, cannot be much later than Ilushuilia. The first *warad N.* legend belonging to Group B, No. 36, comes as late as the time of Urninmar or Urningishzida. Since the servants of the *ishakku* were the last to adopt the *warad N.* type for their seal legends, we must conclude that it originated outside their circle. Our assumption that Group A, to which the early occurrences of the type belong, represents seals of priests and temple officials indicates where the origin of the *warad N.* type may be sought.

Other points of interest from a stylistic point of view are the occurrence of legends of the rare type "*A ana B iqīš*" (Nos. 17, 47a, and 64) and the interesting mixture of this type and the *a r a d - z u* type presented in No. 12.⁷⁰

Lastly, attention should be called to the impressions of two seals of outside rulers, found in the palace. No. 25 is the legend from an impression of a seal of Shuilishu of Isin, found in the Bilalama palace; and No. 55 is on a seal impression of a ruler of Der, found in the Ibiqadad I palace.

We give below a representative group of seal legends found in the area discussed in this volume. The order in which they are presented follows the stratigraphy as far as possible. The legends have been arranged in groups representing the chief rebuildings of the palace, so that each group contains legends from seals or seal impressions found in that particular level. From internal evidence many of the legends can be arranged chronologically within the period covered by the group. Those which at present cannot be dated specifically are placed at the end in their respective groups.

The transliteration and translation of each legend are given in parallel columns. Below are stated the field number of each seal or impression bearing the legend, the locus in which it was found, and the level at which it was found. The term "Under . . ." in the column of locus numbers indicates that the object was found within the area of the locus given but at a level lower than that of the plan on which this locus appears. This is sometimes unavoidable, as in cases where an object was found and recorded before the specific room in which it was located had been identified. In the column devoted to levels the term "Below . . ." usually means that the object was found immediately below the floor of the level indicated.

⁶⁹ Langdon in *RA* XVI (1919) 49-68 argues that the epithet *a r a d N.* or *4N.-(a k) . . . a r a d - z u* in seal legends designates whatever god is mentioned as the personal god of the owner of the seal (see esp. p. 51, n. 1, and p. 52, n. 2). That *wardum* on seals—especially in later periods—may sometimes have had this meaning is possible; however, it seems to me more probable that this terminology originated in circles such as those of priests and officials of a temple, where the term *wardum*, "servant," "slave," was not merely an abstract religious simile but had a very concrete juridical reality, since these "servants" of the god belonged to him body and soul in exactly the same way as a slave belonged to his master.

⁷⁰ Cf. *OIC* No. 13, pp. 42 f.

In a few cases which will easily be recognized the term denotes simply the stratum preceding the building designated. The term "Ituria temple" is used for all levels in the area of the Gimilsin Temple from the first occupation up to the reconstruction by Bilalama.

For the conventions adopted in transliteration see page xviii.

LEGENDS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 1

^[d] šul-gi	O divine Shulgi,
šarrum da-núm	mighty king,
šàr ur ^{ki} -[ma]	king of Ur,
[. . . .]

As. 30:T.277

L 31

Top layer*

* "Top layer" designates a layer some 50 cm. to 1 meter deep just below the surface. In many sections of the excavations it was difficult, sometimes impossible, to distinguish building levels within this layer. This is explained further in chap. vi (p. 201). Cf. seal legend No. 3, n. *.

Seal Legend No. 2

[^d AMA]R- ^d sīn(EN-ZU)	O divine Bursin,
[n i t a ḥ] k a l - g a	mighty man,
[l u g a l u r ^{ki} - m a]	king of Ur,
....
a n u - m u - t á - b i l	Anumutabil
r á - g a b	the courier
a r a d - z u	is your servant.

As. 31:T.320

M 32:20

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Seal Legend No. 3

[. . . .]
i - t u - r i - a	Ituria,
e n s i	ishakku
[á š - n u n - n a ^{ki} - k a]	of Eshnunna,
[. . . .]

As. 30:T.284

L 31:5

Below Bilalama building*

* The northwest wing of Bilalama's palace seems to have been the first important building in the area north of Ilushuilia's palace chapel (see p. 47); the earth just below this structure was much disturbed. Moreover, the modern surface of the tell lay so close above Bilalama's walls that in the "top layer" it was not always easy to assign objects to exact levels; cf. seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Seal Legend No. 4

i - t u - r i - a	O Ituria,
[A]N-AL	AN-AL
[a r a d] - z u	is your servant.

As. 31:T.379

M 30:20

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*

* The seal impression occurred on a tablet in a lot dating from the 3d dynasty of Ur dumped outside the Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace at the base of the outer wall (see pp. 32 and 159).

Seal Legend No. 5

^d l i - b í - ^d s ī n (EN-ZU)	O divine Ibisin,
[l u] g a l k a l - g a	mighty king,
l u g a l u r í ^{ki} - m a	king of Ur,
l u g a l a n - u b - d a -	king of the four quarters,
l i m m u - b a	
i l u - š u - ĩ - l í - a ¹	Ilushuilia*
d u p - [š a r]	the scribe,
d u m u i - t u - [r i - a]	son of Ituria
e n s [i]	the <i>ishakku</i> ,
a r a d - z u	is your servant.

As. 31:T.188

O 31:5

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* The reading of this name as *ilu-šu-ĩ-li-a* rather than as ^dš u - ĩ - l i - a or ^dg i m ĩ l - ĩ - l i - a is based on this seal. It would clearly be impossible to assume that the owner of the seal was already deified at a time when he was merely a young scribe in the service of Ibisin.

LEGENDS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD FROM ILUSHUILIA TO BILALAMA

DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 6

^d l t i š p a k	Tishpak,
š a r r u m d a - n ū m	mighty king,
š à r m a - a t w a - r i - ĩ m	king of the land of Warum,
š à r	king
[k i] - ĩ b - r a - a t	of the quarters
a r - b a - ĩ m	four;
i l u - š u - ĩ - l i - a	Ilushuilia
ʽ w a k i l ʽ (?) - š u	his agent,
n a - r a - a [m]	beloved
^d b e - l a - a t - t e - r a - b a - a n	of Belatteraban,*
^d b e - l a - a t - [s u ĥ - n i r]	Belatsuhnir,*
^d a [d a d] (?)	Adad,
ù ^d [. . .]	and
ì - [ . . . ]	. . . .
m u - u š - t [e - . . . ]	. . . . .

As. 31:630

Under L 32:2

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†

As. 31:670

Under L 32:2

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†

The design associated with this legend is discussed on pp. 202 f.

* On these goddesses see Schneider in *Analecta orientalia* No. 6 (Roma, 1933) pp. 13-23. The new reading ^db e - l a - a t - m ū š - n i r which he proposes there is, however, not correct, for that name is often written ^db e l a t - š u k - n i r in the Tell Asmar texts (e.g. As. 31:T.236, 326, 357). Belatsuhnir had a chapel in Eshnunna (é ^db e l a t - š u k - n i r, As. 30:T.55), and expenditures of oil and flour for both goddesses are mentioned frequently in the accounts from the palace. The elements *suĥnir* (var. *šuknir*) and *teraban* (var. *dīrraban*) of these names are undoubtedly city names, as can be demonstrated in the case of Teraban, which is mentioned in texts from Gasur of the Agade period (see T. J. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi* III. *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* ["Harvard Semitic Series" X (Cambridge, Mass., 1935)] Nos. 146:16 and 154 iv 17). A man from there, *tī-ra-ba-ni-um*, "the Terabanian," is mentioned in an Agade text from Tell Asmar. The approximate locations of these two cities can be determined from the following indications: (1) the construct form *belat* points to proximity to Assyria; (2) the mention of Teraban in the Gasur texts suggests more specifically the Kirkuk region; (3) the cult of these goddesses was introduced into the official cult of the empire of Ur III around

the 33d year of Shulgi. It is reasonable to assume that the introduction of these new goddesses to the official pantheon reflects a political event, a recent inclusion of their cult-cities in the empire. Since Shulgi—as we can see from his date formulas—was occupied with the conquest of Karahar and Simurru (approximately Tuz Khurmatli) in the years immediately before these deities first appear in the pantheon, we are once more led to the Kirkuk region. The inclusion of these deities in Ilushuilia's titles can hardly mean anything but that Ilushuilia possessed the cities in which their cult was at home.

† Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which, at the point where the tablet was found, was immediately above the Nurahum palace.

Seal Legend No. 7

<i>ilu-šu-i-lí-a</i>	(As for) Ilushuilia,
<i>na-ra-am</i> ^d <i>tišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
[. . .]- <i>ga</i>-[. . .]	. . . .
<i>na-ra-am</i>	. . . .
[. . .]
[. . .]
<i>warad</i> -[<i>sú</i>]	is his servant.

As. 31:T.715*

L 32:3

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* Bears date formula No. 40.

Seal Legend No. 8

<i>ilu-šu-i-lí</i> (<i>sic</i>)	(As for) Ilushuili,
<i>na-ra-am</i> ^d <i>tišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
^d <i>belat-te-ra-ba-an</i>	Belatteraban,*
<i>ù</i> ^d <i>belat</i> -[<i>suh</i>] ¹ -[<i>nir</i>]	and Belatsuhmir,*
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>	mighty king,
<i>šàr m[a]-at wa-ri-im</i>	king of the land of Warum,
[. . .]	N.
[. . .]
<i>warad-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 31:T.663

N 30:14†

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* See seal legend No. 6, n. *.

† Under a staircase; see p. 32.

Seal Legend No. 9

[<i>nu-úr-a</i>]- <i>hu-um</i>	(As for) Nurahum,
[<i>na-ra-am</i> ^d <i>tišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
[. . .]- <i>ša-bi</i>-[. . .]	. . . .shabi. . . .
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe
[. . .] <i>warad-sú</i>	. . . . is his servant.

As. 31:T.412

Under L 31:2*

Bilalama palace

* At the time this impression was found and recorded, the rooms in the Bilalama palace below L 31:2 (L 31:3 and 15) were not yet defined.

Seal Legend No. 10

[<i>nu</i>]- ¹ <i>úr-a</i> - <i>hu-um</i>	(As for) Nurahum,
<i>na-ra-am</i> ⁴ <i>tišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
[. . . .]
[. . . .]- <i>sa</i>-[. . . .]	....
[. . . .]- <i>mi</i>-[. . . .]	....
[. . . .]

As. 30:T.757

N 31:1

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Seal Legend No. 11

<i>nu-úr-a-hu-um</i>	(As for) Nurahum,
<i>na-ra-am</i> ⁴ <i>tišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>ú-ši-da-num</i>	Ušidanum
¹ <i>warad</i> ¹ (?) šU(?) GAB(?)*	.....

As. 30:T.462

M 31:1

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

As. 31:T.224

O 30:18

Ituria temple

As. 31:T.244

O 30:18

Ituria temple

As. 31:T.266†

O 30:18

Bilalama palace

* The obvious emendation QA(!)-šU-DU, "cupbearer," is not supported by the traces on the impressions, but possibly ARAD instead of QA is a mistake of the stonecutter.

† See date formula No. 69, n. **.

Seal Legend No. 12

⁴ <i>tišpak</i>	O Tishpak,
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>	mighty king,
<i>šàr ma-at wa-ri-im</i>	king of the land of Warum,
<i>ki-ri-ki-ri</i>	Kirikiri
<i>išak</i>	the <i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na</i> ^{ki}	of Eshnunna
<i>a-na</i>	to
<i>bi-la-la-ma</i>	Bilalama
DUMU-NI-š ^u *	his son
<i>i-qí₄-iš</i>	has presented (this seal).

As. 30:1000†

Uncertain‡

Bilalama palace

As. 31:T.256

O 30:17§

Ituria temple

Published in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 42-44.

* The scribe who drew up the inscription cannot have known his Sumerian too well, since he considers it necessary to add the Akkadian suffix -š^u, "his," after Sumerian DUMU-NI, which in itself means "his son." Cf. date formula No. 72 for a similar case.

† Lapis lazuli cylinder with gold cap, now in Chicago; stolen from the Bilalama palace and bought back from a dealer.

‡ Perhaps O 30:12; see p. 203.

§ In doorway between O 30:17 and 18; see p. 22.

NOT DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 13

[. . .]- <i>ba-zu-na</i>	. . . .bazuna,
[. . .] <i>da-núm</i>	mighty ,
[. . .]- <i>li ri(?) -ri</i>	. . . . .

As. 30:T.223

O 30:12

Ituria temple

Seal Legend No. 14

<i>ši-lu-um-ra-šu-ub</i>	Šillumrashub
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>warad^dtišpak</i>	servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.416

L 31:1*

Ibalpiel I palace

As. 30:T.649

O 30:8

Ituria temple

* In L 31:1 and the adjoining area foundations not only of the Bilalama palace but even of later buildings were cut down into layers dating from the 3d dynasty of Ur; so here the stratification has been disturbed. This legend has been dated on the basis of As. 30:T.649, which was found in an undisturbed stratum. Cf. seal legend No. 3, n. *.

LEGENDS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD FROM BILALAMA TO URNINMAR

DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 15

<i>bi-la-la-ma</i>	(As for) Bilalama,
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>[áš]-nun^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna,
<i>púzur-^dtišpak</i>	Puzurtishpak
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār nu-úr-^dsīn(EN-ZU)</i>	son of Nursin,
<i>warad-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 30:T.225

K 31:1

Bilalama building

As. 30:T.413

K 31:1

Bilalama building

As. 30:T.457

K 31

Bilalama building

Seal Legend No. 16

<i>bi-la-la-ma</i>	(As for) Bilalama,
<i>na-ra-am^dtišpak</i>	beloved of Tishpak,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna,
<i>wa-zum-be-lí</i>	Wazumbeli,
<i>mār awil-ša-lim</i>	son of Awilshalim,
<i>warad-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 31:492*

N 34:11

Houses under Southern Building

* A cylinder seal.

Seal Legend No. 17

[b]i-la-la-ma	Bilalama,
[na]-ra-am	beloved
^d tišpak	of Tishpak,
išak	ishakku
[áš-nun-na ^{ki}]	of Eshnunna,
a-[na]	to
wa-zum-be-lí	Wazumbeli
narim	the singer,
[mār awil-ša-lim]	son of Awilshalim,
[i-qi ₄ -iš]	has presented (this seal).

As. 31:T.422

M 32:20

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Seal Legends Nos. 18a-g

Fragments of impressions from seals belonging to servants of Bilalama, some perhaps duplicates of Nos. 15-17

a. As. 30:T.461	M 31:1	Bilalama palace
b. As. 30:T.730*	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
c. As. 30:T.735	O 30:18	Bilalama palace†
d. As. 30:T.736†	Dump	
e. As. 30:T.738*	O 30:4	Urninmar palace
f. As. 30:T.742	O 30:18	Bilalama palace†
g. As. 30:T.752	O 30:18	Bilalama palace†

* Bears date formula No. 68.

† Bears date formula No. 67.

‡ In the circular shaft sunk through the raised base which filled the niche of the Gimilsin Temple (see p. 22).

Seal Legend No. 19

^d tišpak	(As for) Tishpak,
šarrum da-núm	mighty king,
šār ma-at wa-ri-im	king of the land of Warum,
ú-šur-a-wa-sú	Ušurawasu,*
na-ra-am-šu	his beloved one
ù na-áš-pár-šu	and his envoy,†
išak	ishakku
áš-nun-na ^{ki}	of Eshnunna,
warad-sú	is his servant.

As. 30:T.226

Dump

As. 30:T.352

N 30:7

Bilalama palace

As. 30:T.353

O 30:15

Bilalama palace

* We have—with some hesitation—followed mechanically the cuneiform orthography in our rendering of this name, although the spoken form which that orthography represents naturally was *ušur-awassu* < *ušur-awalšu*.

† Cf. the similar phraseology in the Esikil inscription of Bilalama, bldg. inser. No. 4.

Seal Legend No. 20

[ú-šur-a-wa]-sú
na-ra-am ^dtišpak
i-la-nu-um
mār ur-é
dupšarrum
[warad-sú]

(As for) Ušurawasu,
beloved of Tishpak,
Ilanum,
son of Ure
the scribe,
is his servant.

As. 30:T.232*

O 30:7

In vertical drain

* Bears date formula No. 71.

Seal Legend No. 21

ú-šur-a-wa-s[ú]
išk áš-nun^{ki}
be-lí-ki-ib-ri
warad-sú

(As for) Ušurawasu,
ishakku of Eshnunna,
Belikibri
is his servant.

As. 31:616*

Dump

* A cylinder seal.

Seal Legend No. 21a

[ú]-šur-a-w[a-sú]
[išk]a[k] áš-n[un^{ki}]
[. . .]-e-[. . .]
[. . .]-a-[. . .]

Ušurawasu,
ishakku of Eshnunna,
....
.....

As. 30:T.440

L 31:7

Bilalama palace

Seal Legend No. 22

^dtišpak
šarrum da-núm
šār ma-at wa-ri-im
a-zu-zum
išk
áš-nun^{ki}
warad-sú

(As for) Tishpak,
mighty king,
king of the land of Warum,
Azuzum
the *ishakku*
of Eshnunna
is his servant.

As. 30:T.355

N 30:11

Urninmar palace

Seal Legend No. 23

^dtišpak
šarrum da-núm
šār áš-nun^{ki}
a-zu-zum
na-ra-[am]
^dtišpak
išk
áš-nun-na^{ki}
warad-sú

(As for) Tishpak,
mighty king,
king of Eshnunna,
Azuzum,
beloved
of Tishpak,
ishakku
of Eshnunna,
is his servant.

As. 30:T.224

M 31:1

Bilalama palace

Seal Legends Nos. 24a-b

Fragments of impressions from seals belonging to Azuzum or his servants

a. As. 30:T.475	M 31:1	Bilalama palace
b. As. 30:T.704	N 30:2	Urninmar palace

NOT DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 25

[^d šu]-ì-lí-[šu]	The divine Shuilishu,*
šarrum dannum(KAL-GA)	mighty king,
[šàr ur]i ^{ki}	king of Ur,
[šàr ì-sì-in ^{ki}]	king of Isin,
[na-ra-am] ^d en-[líl]	beloved of Enlil
ù ^d n[in]-in-sì-[na]	and Nininsina,
[. . . .]

As. 30:T.734	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
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* On the restoration of lines 1-3 see the inscription of Shuilishu published by Gadd and Legrain (*UET* I, No. 100:5-7). Line 4 has been restored according to the titles of other kings of this dynasty (e.g. Ishmedagan, *op. cit.* No. 102:12, and Lipitisttar, *op. cit.* No. 106:10). It is hardly probable that any very long period of time elapsed from the arrival in Eshnunna of the goods covered by this seal impression to the moment when the shipment was opened and the broken sealing with which we are concerned fell to the floor. Since the seal impression was found on the floor of the Bilalama palace, we can assume that Bilalama and Shuilishu were contemporaneous for a few years at least. The reigns of Shuilishu and of his father Ishbiirra lasted altogether 43 years (see my study, *The Sumerian King List* [AS No. 11] p. 125 and Table II). Thus about 40 years are available for the three rulers preceding Bilalama in Eshnunna (Ilushuilia, Nurahum, and Kirikiri)—a figure which seems quite reasonable.

Seal Legend No. 26

[i]-šar-lu-ba-lì-iṭ	Isharluballit,
warad ^d tīšpak	servant of Tishpak.

As. 31:T.149	N 30:8	Bilalama palace
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Seal Legend No. 27

[^d t i š p a k	(As for) Tishpak,
[. . . .] l u g a l
[. . . .]
[. . . .]
l ú - k a - z a l	Lukazal,
d u m u a b - b a	son of Abba
ì - d u - d u	the ,
[. . . .]

As. 31:T.593	M 32:13	Bilalama palace
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Seal Legend No. 28

[š^u-^d]da-ba-an
[dup]šarrum
[mār] ilu-dan

Shudaban(?)*
the scribe,
son of Iludan.

As. 30:T.402

M 31:1

Bilalama palace

* For restoration cf. the name Shudaban in seal legend No. 47. Consideration of stratigraphy does not favor identification of the two men. Note, however, that the impression was found high up in the Bilalama palace, so that it is difficult to decide for certain whether it belongs to this or to the later Palace of Three Rulers.

Seal Legend No. 29

[. . .]-^dnin-[. . .]
dupšarrum
[mār] a-a-kal-la

. . . nin. . .
the scribe,
son of ʾAkalla.

As. 30:T.711

P 31:3

Bilalama level

Seal Legend No. 30

[a]-bu-tāb
[mār . . .]-bī-lum
[warad] ^dtīšpak

Abuṭab,
son of . . . bilum,
servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.266

K 31:1

Bilalama building

Seal Legend No. 31

a-mur-pa-la-[. . .]
warad [. . .]

Amurpala. . . ,
servant of

As. 30:T.453

K 31:1

Bilalama building

Seal Legend No. 32

[. . .]-g a - m u
[. . .]-n i - ù r - r a

. . . .
.

As. 31:T.717

M 31:23

Bilalama level

Seal Legend No. 33

š^u-ku-bu-um
[. . .]
[. . .]

Shukubum
. . . .
.

As. 31:T.537

Under L 31:2

Bilalama palace(?)*

* See seal legends No. 3, n. *, and No. 14, n. *.

LEGENDS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD FROM URNINMAR TO LAST OCCUPATION OF PALACE

DATEABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 34

^d <i>tišpak</i>	(As for) Tishpak,
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>	mighty king,
<i>ur-^dnin-mar^{ki}</i>	Urninmar,
<i>išak</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	of Eshnunna,
<i>warad-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 30:T.201

O 30:1*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I)

* See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 35

^u <i>r</i> ¹ - ^d <i>n</i> ⁱ <i>n</i> - <i>m</i> ^a <i>r</i> ^{ki}	Urninmar,
<i>na-^ra-am¹ ^dtišpak¹</i>	beloved of Tishpak;
<i>[i-bi-]i^q-^dadad</i>	Ibiqadad
<i>[. . .]-a-n-a*</i>

As. 30:T.118

O 30:5

Ibiqadad I palace

* One might restore [dumu]-a-na and read urninmar *narām ^dtišpak ibiqadad dumu-an(i)-a(k)*, "Belonging to Ibiqadad, son of Urninmar the beloved of Tishpak." On *dumu-a-na* instead of *dumu-na*, see *GSG*, § 213; on the omission of the anticipatory genitive after urninmar *narām ^dtišpak*, see *ibid.* § 377. However, the occurrence of the Akkadian title *narām ^dtišpak* in the midst of this thoroughly Sumerian construction gives reason for serious doubts.

Seal Legend No. 36

<i>ur-^dnin-[mar^{ki}]*</i>	Urninmar,
<i>išak [áš-nun-na^{ki}]</i>	<i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna;
<i>en-num-[. . .]</i>	Ennum. . . . ,
<i>mār šu-[. . .]</i>	son of Shu. . . .

As. 31:T.381

O 30:8

Bilalama palace†

* Or *ur-^dnin-[giš-zi-da]*? Cf. seal legend No. 37, n. †.

† I am unable to explain this inconsistency.

Seal Legend No. 37

<i>ku-ru-za</i>	Kuruza*
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>warad ur-^dnin-[giš-zi-da]†</i>	servant of Urningishzida.

As. 30:T.493‡

O 30:7

In vertical drain

* Cf. seal legend No. 44.

† Or *ur-^dnin-[mar^{ki}]*? Cf. date formula No. 91, n. *.

‡ Bears date formula No. 91.

Seal Legend No. 38

^dsīn(EN-ZU)-a-bu-šu
mār ur-^dsīn(EN-ZU)

Sinabushu,
son of Ursin.

As. 30:T.83*

O 30:3†

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* This tablet is dated by a formula of Belakum (date formula No. 101).

† See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 39

[. . .]
mār i-lī-ša-am
warad ^dtišpak
ù ^dgeštin-an-na

. . . . ,
son of Ilisham,
servant of Tishpak
and Geshtinanna.

As. 30:T.115*

O 30:3†

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* This tablet is dated by a formula of Belakum (date formula No. 102).

† See the discussion of this area in note † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 40

i-bi-iq-^dadad
na-ra-am ^dtišpak
išak áš-nun-na^{ki}
mār ur-^dnin-mar^{ki}

Ibiqadad,
beloved of Tishpak,
ishakku of Eshnunna,
son of Urninmar.

As. 30:T.104

P 29:6

Top layer* (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace)

As. 30:T.227

P 30:1†

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

As. 30:T.293

Dump

As. 30:T.421

O 30:5‡

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace)

As. 30:T.422

O 30:5‡

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace)

As. 30:T.423

O 30:5‡

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace)

As. 30:T.645

P 31:1

Ibiqadad I palace

As. 30:T.669

P 31:1

Ibiqadad I palace

As. 31:T.268

M 30:1

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

As. 31:T.363

M 33, in street

As. 31:T.673

M 32:6

?

* See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

† In debris around the Ibalpiel well.

‡ Among confused foundations; cf. date formula No. 101, n. †.

Seal Legend No. 41

a-ḥa-nir-ši
dupšarrum
mār a-ḥu-ki-nu-um
warad ^dtišpak

Ahanirshi
the scribe,
son of Ahukinum,*
servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.172†

M 31:12

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

As. 30:T.192

M 31:12

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

Two impressions of this seal were found together with several of the seal of Shuenlil (seal legend No. 42). There can be no doubt, therefore, that the two owners were contemporaneous and that accordingly Ahanirshi lived under Ibiqadad I.

* Cf. seal legend No. 67.

† This tablet bears a fragment of seal legend No. 42 also.

Seal Legend No. 42

<i>i-bi-ig^dadad</i>	(As for) Ibiqadad,
<i>išak áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	<i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna,
<i>šu^den-líl dupšarrum</i>	Shuenlil the scribe,
<i>mār ki-nam-iš-ti</i>	son of Kinamishti,
<i>[warad]-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 30:T.134	M 31:6	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.172*	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.180	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.194	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.195	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.197	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

* Cf. seal legend No. 41, n. †.

Seal Legend No. 43

<i>[i-bi-ig^dadad]</i>	(As for) Ibiqadad,
<i>[i]ša[k áš-nun-na^{ki}]</i>	<i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna,
<i>šu^den-líl</i>	Shuenlil
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār ki-nam-iš-ti</i>	son of Kinamishti,
<i>[warad-sú]</i>	is his servant.

As. 30:T.135	M 31:6	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.146	M 31:8	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.459	O 31:8	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

Seal Legend No. 44

<i>[i-bi-i]q^dadad</i>	(As for) Ibiqadad,
<i>[išk] áš-nun-na^{ki}</i>	<i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna,
<i>[. . .]-nam dupšarrum</i>	. . . nam the scribe,
<i>mār ku-ru-za</i>	son of Kuruza,*
<i>warad-sú</i>	is his servant.

As. 30:T.625	P 30:1†	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I level
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* Cf. seal legend No. 37.

† In debris surrounding the Ibalpiel well.

Seal Legend No. 45

<i>[. . .]</i>
<i>[. . .]</i>
<i>warad i-bi-ig^d[adad]</i>	servant of Ibiqadad.

As. 30:T.125	M 31:6	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
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Seal Legend No. 46

<i>[. . .]-ma-at-gi(?) -mi-i[l . . .]</i>
<i>[. . .]-bi-ig^dadad</i>	Ibiqadad
<i>[. . .]-a(?) -ni(?) wa-ru-[. . .]</i>

As. 30:T.203	M 31:1	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
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Seal Legend No. 47

<i>warad-[sà]</i>	(As for) Waradsa,
<i>išak áš-n[un^{ki}]</i>	<i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna,
<i>ir-ra-ba-ni-a[m(?) . . .]</i>	Irrabaniam,
<i>mār šu-^dda-b[a-an]</i>	son of Shudaban,*
<i>warad-[šú]</i>	is his servant.

As. 33:372†

Dump

* Cf. seal legend No. 28.

† A cylinder seal found in 1933 in the dump formed during 1930 and 1931 by material from the old palace.

Seal Legend No. 47a

<i>i^l-ba-[al-pi-el]</i>	Ibalpiel,
<i>iša[k]</i>	<i>ishakku</i>
<i>áš-nun-[na^{ki}]</i>	of Eshnunna,
<i>a-na nír(?)-[. . .]</i>	to Nir. . . ,
<i>aššati-[šu]</i>	his wife,
<i>[i-qi₄-iš]</i>	presented (this seal).

As. 30:T.119

P 29:1

Surface

Seal Legend No. 48

<i>a-šu-ub-li-el*</i>	Ashubliel,
<i>warad i-ba-al-pi-el</i>	servant of Ibalpiel.

As. 30:T.216

N 30:5†

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I level

As. 30:T.633

O 30:7

Bilalama palace (level 32.00†)

As. 30:T.634

N 31:1

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

As. 31:T.669

N 31:1

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

* An interesting Amorite name, *ašub li-el* (אֲשׁוּב לֵאל), "I turn to God (or 'to El')."†

† More exactly, alongside the pavement designated by this number.

‡ A vertical pottery drain, sunk from the surface at O 30:7 in a late period (see p. 79), is shown on Pl. V only, but penetrated lower levels. Hence this seal impression was found deeper than might have been expected had the stratification been undisturbed.

Seal Legend No. 49

<i>^dtishpak-na-ši-ir</i>	Tishpaknašir
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār ur-^dnin-i-si-na</i>	son of Urninisina,
<i>warad i-ba-al-pi-el</i>	servant of Ibalpiel.

As. 30:T.142

M 31:1

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

Seal Legend No. 50

<i>warad-^dadad</i>	Waradadad,
<i>mār a-bu-[. . .]</i>	son of Abu. . . ,
<i>warad i-ba-al-pi-el</i>	servant of Ibalpiel.

As. 30:T.54

O 29:7*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 51

[. . .]*
k i - á g ^{dn} [i n -]†,
d u m u i - b a - a l - p i - e l	son of Ibalpiel.

As. 30:T.179*	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
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As. 30:T.183*	M 31:12	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
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* Both tablets lack the beginning of the legend, so it may have had as many as two or more lines before k i - á g ^{dn} [i n -].

† Either a title, "beloved of Nin. . . .," or a personal name, "Kiagnin. . . ."

Seal Legend No. 52

[. . .],
warad i-qí-iš- ^{dt} [išpak]	servant of Iqishtishpak.*

As. 30:T.162	M 31:11	Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace
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* Concerning this ruler see pp. 121 and 140.

NOT DATABLE TO INDIVIDUAL KINGS

Seal Legend No. 53

k ù - ^{dš} a r a	Kushara
d u p - š a r	the scribe,
d u m u l u g a l - [. . .]	son of Lugal. . . .,
d u p - š a r l u g a l - k a	scribe of the king.*

As. 30:T.298	M 31:1	Urninmar palace
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* In the translation, d u p - š a r l u g a l - k a has been considered as representing a single genitive (see *GSG*, § 374, second half). It is, however, possible that l u g a l - k a represents l u g a l - (a) k - a (k) ; in that case we should translate, "Belonging to Kushara"

Seal Legend No. 54

[. . .]
i-dam-ši-ri-[. . .]
túr-ru-[. . .],
mār tu-tu	son of Tutu.

As. 30:T.455	M 30:1	Urninmar palace
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As. 30:T.456	M 30:1	Urninmar palace
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Seal Legend No. 55

^d sataran*	(As for) Sataran
da-núm	the mighty,
[š]ār dērim ^{ki}	king of Der,
[. . .]-ba	. . . .ba,
[zikarum da-núm]	mighty man,
mi-gir ^d sa[taran]	favorite of Sataran,

<i>na-ra-am</i> ^d [<i>ištar</i>]	beloved of Ishtar,
<i>šak</i> [<i>kanak</i>]	governor
[<i>dērim</i> ^{ki}]	of Der,
[<i>warad-sú</i>] [†]	is his servant.

As. 30:T.255

N 31:13

In or slightly below Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

* On the reading of ^dKA-DI see R. Scholtz in *ZA* XLI (1933) 304, who realized that the name of this deity occurs, written phonetically, in Langdon, *PUMBP* X 2 (1917) Pl. XXXVIII, line 11, and thus made the solution of this old crux possible. Scholtz's reading, *e-at-ra-na*, was later emended by E. Ebeling (quoted by E. F. Weidner in *AOF* IX [1933/34] 99, n. 63a) to *sa(!)-a(!)-at-ra-n(a)*.

† On the restorations compare inscriptions of Anumutabil, *CT* XXI (1905) Pl. 1, No. 91084 (cf. *SAK*, p. 176, XVII 2), and Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions*, Text 4 (cf. Jacobsen in *AJSL* XLIV [1927/28] 261 f.; the doubtful third line I should now read *da-an(!)-num*).

Seal Legend No. 56

<i>ʿa</i> ¹ - <i>bu-um-ilum</i>	Abumilum
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār é-úr-bi-du</i> ₁₀	son of Eurbidu.

As. 30:T.378

L 32:1

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

Seal Legend No. 57

<i>a-bu-ni</i>	Abuni,
<i>mār ab-li-bu-um</i>	son of Ablibum.

As. 30:T.124a

P 29:6

Top layer* (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Seal Legend No. 58

<i>a</i> [<i>t</i>](?) <i>-ta-kal-ʿla</i> ¹	Attakalla
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār ku-ru-š[ar]</i>	son of Kurushar,
[<i>warad</i>] ^d <i>tiš[pak]</i>	servant of Tishpak.
[AN] AN AN*	.....

As. 30:T.97

O 30:2†

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* The triple AN (or DINGIR) in this line may be simply a decorative feature added to fill a space which would otherwise be empty. More likely, however, the triple writing of the sign for "heaven" (or "god") was considered a powerful spell and meant as a protection for the owner of the seal. If this explanation is correct, this seal anticipates the combination of seal and amulet, frequent in Kassite times.

† See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 59

<i>i-ku-pi-^dt[išpak](?)</i>	Iku(n)pitishpak(?)
<i>dup[šarrum]</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār šār-[. . .]</i>	son of Shar. . . .

As. 30:T.49

O 29:7*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 35:34†

?

Surface

* See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

† Fragment of a cylinder seal found on the tell by a workman.

Seal Legend No. 60

ì-lí-sukkal
mār d^sīn(EN-ZU)-i-mi-ti Ilisukkal,
 son of Sinimitti.

As. 30:T.144 M 31:1 Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I palace
 As. 30:T.210 M 31:11 Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I palace

Seal Legend No. 61

ì-[. . .]-nu-nu I. . . .nunu
dupšarrum the scribe,
mār a-ni-DIL-DIL son of Ani. . . .,
warad d^tīšpak servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.424* O 30:5 Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I palace

* This tablet was found together with tablets bearing a seal legend of Ibiqadad I (No. 40); so probably it belongs to his reign.

Seal Legend No. 62

šu-mi-a-ḫi-a Shumiahia
dupšarrum the scribe,
mār a-ḫu-um son of Ahum,
warad d^tīšpak servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.185* L 31:2 Top layer†
 As. 30:T.280 P 29:4‡ Top layer (Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I)
 As. 31:T.273 Dump

* Bears seal legend No. 65 also.

† Cf. seal legend No. 1, n. *.

‡ See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 63

za-za-nu-um Zazanum,
mār nu-úr-d^tīšpak son of Nurtishpak.

As. 30:T.120 O 29:9* Top layer (Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I)

* See the discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Seal Legend No. 64

[. . . .]
[iṣ]a[k] ,
áṣ-[n]un-na^[ki] *ishakku*
a-na be-li-ti of Eshnunna,
[i-qi₄-iṣ] to Beliti
 presented (this seal).

As. 30:T.173 N 31:6 Ibiqadad I–Ibalpiel I palace

Seal Legend No. 65

[. . . .] ,
d u m u i - 'd i'(?)- ^d [. . . .]	son of Idi. . . .
l ú 'TúG'(?)	the tailor(?),
a r a d ^d t i š p a k	servant of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.185*

L 31:2

Top layer†

As. 30:T.206

M 32:6

Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I palace

* Bears seal legend No. 62 also.

† See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Seal Legend No. 66

<i>ku-ru-ub-é-a</i>	Kurubea,
<i>mār a-ni-[. . .]-um</i>	son of Ani. . . .um,
<i>[dupšar] šarrim</i>	scribe of the king.

As. 31:T.718

M 31:18

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Seal Legend No. 67

<i>'a'-hu-'ki'-nu-um</i>	Ahukinum*
<i>dupšarrum</i>	the scribe,
<i>mār i-lí-[. . .]</i>	son of Ili. . . .

As. 30:T.106

Dump

* Probably identical with Ahukinum mentioned in seal legend No. 41.

Seal Legend No. 68

<i>i-ba-lu(?) -ut</i>	Ibalut,
<i>warad ^dšu-gid-da</i>	servant of Shugidda.*

As. 30:38†

N 30:3

Surface

* This deity is unknown to me.

† A cylinder seal.

Seal Legend No. 69

<i>^me(?) -ki(?) -^dadad</i>	. . . .adad,
<i>mār a-ta-ta-wi-ra</i>	son of Atatawira,
<i>warad bu-kur-^deš-tar</i>	servant of Bukurishtar.

As. 33:385*

P 27:8

Surface

* A cylinder seal.

Seal Legend No. 70

<i>u r - s [a g -]</i>	Ursag. . . . ,
<i>[d u] m u b e - l í - [. . . .]</i>	son of Beli. . . .

As. 31:19*

O 30:17

20 cm. above Ilushuilia floor

* This cylinder seal dates from the Agade period; obviously it was not found in its original context.

DATE FORMULAS

Two main periods are represented in the date formulas from the the palace site: that of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when Eshnunna formed part of the kingdom of Ur, and that of Isin-Larsa, when Eshnunna was the capital of a powerful, independent principality.

Most of the tablets carrying date formulas from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur were found in two locations: (1) north of the Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace at the foot of an outside wall, apparently in a large dump extending over M 30:20 and M 31:23; (2) in the area in and around the palace chapel, where these tablets appeared from just under the surface down to the floor of the earliest palace. That so many of the Third Dynasty of Ur tablets were found in comparatively high levels, outside their archeological context, is explained by the fact that the stratigraphy in this part of the site was much disturbed by a network of foundations for the later palace which penetrated down to the buildings of the lowest level.

As will be seen, the date formulas from the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur form a fairly continuous series from the 30th year of Shulgi to the 2d year of Ibisin.⁷¹ The disappearance of Third Dynasty of Ur year dates after that year⁷² is perhaps an indication that administrative control over the northern part of the country was beginning to loosen. In Nippur date formulas for only six years of Ibisin's reign have been found, and there is reason to believe that the general rebellion which reduced Ibisin to the status of a mere petty king, ruling the city of Ur only, took place as early as his 9th and 10th years.⁷³

The independence of Eshnunna after the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur is reflected in the date formulas by the fact that from now on they refer to local events; otherwise there are no changes. The scribes who edited the new formulas imitated the older ones as closely as possible, as may be seen, for instance, by a comparison of a date formula of Nurahum (No. 42) with the formula for Shulgi's 43d year (quoted in n. † to No. 42). The only difference is that the name and titles of the king of Ur have been replaced with those of the local god Tishpak.

As the form of the date formulas hardly changes, so they also continue to deal with the same kind of subjects as before—important events of historical or religious nature. As mentioned above, however, after the gaining of independence these events are purely local, and thus the later date formulas preserve a wealth of information concerning the history and cult of Eshnunna.

Since the historical material contained in the date formulas, in so far as it was known at the time, was discussed by Dr. Frankfort in the first report,⁷⁴ we shall here deal mainly with the other aspect of their information. Two new date formulas of historical interest must however be mentioned: No. 42, which records Nurahum's victorious war against Subartu, and No. 70, commemorating a similar victory of Bilalama over Amurru.

⁷¹ Our numbering of the year dates of Shulgi is based on the fact that the figure 48 years for the reign of this ruler can be shown to be correct; see *AS* No. 11, p. 122, n. 321. In restoring the missing date formulas at the beginning of his reign we have followed Ungnad (*RLA* II 140–43) except that we omit the formula stating that the *en-nam-rig*, of Shulgi was installed. There is no evidence that this formula belongs to the early years of Shulgi; on the contrary, Lugal-ka-gi-na and Ū-ma-ni, the persons mentioned on the tablet thus dated (EAH 109, Hugo Radau, *Early Babylonian History* [New York, 1900] p. 420), seem to have functioned in the later part of Shulgi's reign and in that of Bursin. Umani appears in Shulgi 44 (EAH 106, *op. cit.* p. 428); Lugal-ka-gi-na appears in Shulgi 31 (EAH 96 and 109, *op. cit.* pp. 418 and 420) and in Bursin 8 (EAH 87, *op. cit.* p. 422). It seems very unlikely that Lugal-ka-gi-na should also have been functioning 53 years earlier than the date last mentioned.

⁷² Date formula No. 81, which resembles a date formula of Ibisin after his 2d year, seems to belong to a much later period.

⁷³ See *AS* No. 11, pp. 199–201.

⁷⁴ *OIC* No. 13, pp. 25–41.

RELIGIOUS CONTENTS

As interesting as the historical evidence supplied by the date formulas is the material on the cult and religion of Eshnunna which they contain. Several different deities are named. A temple is built for Adad in No. 86, one for Shamash in No. 127; the temple of Sin is mentioned (No. 125), and Ušurawasu makes an "exalted throne" for Ningishzida (No. 71). Goddesses mentioned are Inanna of Kiti,⁷⁵ whose statue Belakum fashions (No. 102), and Ugulla, the wife of Tishpak, for whom an "exalted table" is made (No. 87).

The majority of the religious date formulas, however, are concerned with Tishpak, the chief god of the city, and most of the new information concerns him. In the following account those religious formulas in which no special god is mentioned are also assigned to Tishpak, since he would seem to be the one to whom such formulas would probably have reference.⁷⁶

Esikil, the temple of Tishpak, was rebuilt by Bilalama, according to date formula No. 62. Another formula, No. 80, mentions the construction of "the wall of Esikil"; so in all probability the temple itself was surrounded by a heavy wall of such magnitude that its construction was worth recording in a special date formula. Only one gate to the temple is mentioned so far, namely "the gate of the bench of the singers" (No. 115); and a double door of the type called a *dibba*-door is mentioned in No. 108.

Inside the temple one would find, probably in the cella, the emblems of Tishpak.⁷⁷ The most resplendent of these was no doubt a "golden crescent-shaped emblem inlaid with silver" (No. 116); but one would also notice "the exalted twin emblem" (*No. 76),⁷⁸ "the emblem of alabaster" (*No. 58), and an emblem presented by the *ishakku* Waradsa and therefore called "the Waradsa emblem" (No. 109). The cult image of Tishpak probably rested on a two-tiered dais, made of silver, which Ibiqadad (I?) states that he brought into the temple (No. 95). The image was dressed in a golden robe (No. 126) and held in its hand a ring of gold (No. 120) and an ax (No. 61). This ax may have been of lapis lazuli, for an ax of this material is mentioned in *No. 124. The god seems to have been represented as seated, for we hear of his "ivory throne inlaid with gold" (No. 111). Besides this throne Tishpak possessed a chair of special type, a "*gišg u - z a RA NITAḡ*," made of Ethiopian(?) wood—perhaps ebony—and(?) a *bba*-wood and inlaid with gold (*No. 121). One would also find a model of a sedan chair made of lapis lazuli (*No. 122). In front of the god stood offering-tables, "the exalted table of Tishpak" (No. 44) and "the silver table" (*No. 123). The cella also held "the bronze plow" of Tishpak, an interesting testimony to the god's function as a fertility god (No. 94).

On low benches along the walls would stand the statues and reliefs presented to Tishpak by the different *ishakku*'s. Nearest to the cult statue, presumably, was "the bronze statue next to Tishpak" (No. 104). There were also a "standing bronze statue" (No. 82) and a "pair of bronze statues" (*No. 88). Of statues in stone we have "the two stone statues" (*No. 74), a costly "statue of carnelian(?)" (*No. 49), a "seated stone statue" (*No. 91), and a statue or relief depicting the *ishakku* in the pious act of "building the wall" (*No. 57). A bronze statue of the god of the river Turnat (No. 119) and possibly a silver statue of the god of the river Taban (*No. 77) may have stood in the temple, although we do not know their place for certain.

⁷⁵ The Akkadian form of this name is Ishtar Kititum.

⁷⁶ To enable the reader to know at a glance which formulas quoted in the following paragraphs do not refer expressly to Tishpak, such formulas have been marked by asterisks placed before the numbers.

⁷⁷ That the place of the divine emblems generally was in the cella may be seen, for instance, from the famous relief of Shamash (British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* [3d ed.; London, 1922] Pl. XXVI), where the emblem of the god stands on a table in front of his statue. See also Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II 72 and Tafel-Abb. 20.

⁷⁸ It seems probable that date formulas Nos. 75 and 76 are in reality only variants of the same formula, and that accordingly both refer to the same object. See date formula No. 75 and comment there.

These were the treasures to be seen inside the temple. Outside, presumably in a small boat-temple near the main canal, we would find "the boat of Tishpak" (No. 46) in which the god would travel when he wanted to visit other deities. This boat had a golden prow and a golden stern, so that it was sometimes called "the exalted boat" with "the two golden horns" (No. 101). These two "horns" were probably shaped like the head and tail of a dragon, for in another formula the boat is called "the dragon-boat" (*No. 83). It is impossible in this connection not to think of Labbu, the sea monster which Tishpak conquered in primeval times. What would be more natural than that Tishpak's boat should be just this sea monster, Labbu, now subservient to him whenever he wanted to travel by water?

Such then is the evidence supplied by the date formulas; as will be seen they give a surprisingly vivid picture of the treasures once adorning Tishpak's abode in Eshnunna. Let us hope that some of these treasures at least are still preserved below the debris now covering the temple and that they will be recovered by pick and spade.

TEXTS OF FORMULAS

In the following list the formulas have been grouped on the same principles as were the seal legends. The regnal years to which the formulas refer are indicated if known. The transliteration is followed first by the translation, then by variants found on the Asmar tablets. In the first column below are printed the field numbers of the tablets on which the formula appears, followed in the second and third columns by the locus and level in which each tablet was found. For the significance of the terms "Under . . .," "Below . . .," and "Ituria temple" see pages 141 f.; for the conventions adopted in transliteration see page xviii.

THIRD DYNASTY OF UR⁷⁹

Date Formula No. 1 (Shulgi, year 30)

m u DUMU-SAL lugal ensi an-šak^{ki}-na-ke₄ ba-tuk-a

Year when the *ishakku* of Anshan married the daughter of the king.

Var. 1: m u DUMU-SAL lugal ensi an-ša-an^{ki(1)}-ke₄ ba-an-tuk-a

Var. 2: m u DUMU-SAL lugal ensi an-ša-an-na-ke₄ ba-an-tuk-a

Var. 3: m u DUMU-SAL lugal ensi an-ša-na-ke₄ ba-tuk

As. 31:T.334	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.342 (Var. 2)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.354 (Var. 3)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.357 (Var. 1)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*

* See seal legend No. 4, n. *

Date Formula No. 2 (Shulgi, year 31)

m u a-rá 2-kam kára*-ḫar^{ki} ba-ḫul

Year: "Karahar was sacked for the second time."

As. 31:T.333†	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.348†	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* Our reading kára-ḫar^{ki} instead of gán-ḫar^{ki} is based on a variant mu a-rá 2-kam ḫa-ra-ḫar^{ki} ba-ḫul found on a tablet in the Oriental Institute (A 2695) which Dr. Gelb has discovered and communicated to us.

† Both tablets mention the *ishakku* Urguedinna in the text.

⁷⁹ See p. 159, n. 71.

Date Formula No. 3 (Shulgi, year 32*)

mu a-rá 2-kam ká-ra-har^{ki} ba-hul mu ús-sa-a-bi

Year following the year: "Karahar was sacked for the second time."

As. 31:T.359

M 30:20

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†

* This formula is an alternative for Shulgi 32 (cf. No. 2) as given in *RLA* II 141 (51) (33) a).

† Cf. seal legend No. 4, n. *.

Date Formula No. 4 (Shulgi, year 33)

mu a-rá 3-kam si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-hul mu ús-sa-a-bi

Year following the year: "Simurru was sacked for the third time."

As. 31:T.356

M 31:23

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Date Formula No. 5 (Shulgi, year 35)

mu ús-sa an-ša-an^{ki} ba-hul

Year following (the year): "Anshan was sacked."

As. 31:T.519

M 31:12

Palace of Three Rulers

Date Formula No. 6 (Shulgi, year 36)

mu a-rá 2-kam ^dnanna kar-zi-da é-an-na* ba-an-tu

Year: "Nanna of Karzida was brought into his temple for the second time."

Var. 1: mu ^dnanna kar-zi-da a-rá 2-kam-ma é-a-na ba-an-tuVar. 2: mu ^dnanna kar-zi-da é-[a-na] †

As. 31:T.332† (Var. 2)

M 31:23

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

As. 31:T.352

M 31:23

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

As. 31:T.452 (Var. 1)

M 32:10

Below Bilalama palace

* É-an-na stands for é-a-na (cf. Var. 1), i.e., é-an(i)-a; the usual form of the formula has é-a, "into the temple"; see *SAK*, p. 231. The writing é-an-na may be a mere mistake (did the scribe think of Eanna in Uruk?), or it may be explained on the basis of *GSG*, § 216.

† Tablet As. 31:T.332 has a double date formula: mu ^dnanna kar-zi-da é-[a-na] ù mu bàd ma-da ba-dù (see No. 8). The occurrence of the formula mu ^dnanna kar-zi-da é-[a-na] together with the bàd ma-da formula (Shulgi 37) shows that the former was intended for Shulgi 36 and not for Shulgi 5 (numbered as Shulgi 8 by Ungnad in *RLA* II 140) even though the scribe omitted a-rá 2-kam.

Date Formula No. 7 (Shulgi, year 36*)

mu ús-sa an-ša-an^{ki} ba-hul mu ús-sa-bi

Second year after (the year): "Anshan was sacked."

As. 31:T.714

M 32:15

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* This formula is an alternative for No. 6; cf. No. 5.

Date Formula No. 8 (Shulgi, year 37)

mu bàd ma-da ba-dù

Year: "Bad-mada was built."

As. 31:T.332*

M 31:23

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* Cf. date formula No. 6, n. †.

Date Formula No. 9 (Shulgi, year 39)

mu ḏšul-gi é púzur-iš-ḏa-gan ba-dù

Year: "Shulgi built the temple of Puzrish-Dagan."*

As. 30:T.760

O 30:20

Outside the *kisū* of Ituria temple

* The temple in question is a temple for Shulgi himself in Puzrish-Dagan (Drehem); see the more explicit form of the formula, *SAK*, p. 231, n. i. On the reading and grammatical explanation of the name Puzrish-Dagan see B. Landsberger in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I (1930) 322, n. 4, and W. von Soden in *ZA* XLI (1933) 108.

Date Formula No. 10 (Shulgi, year 40)

mu ús-sa é púzur-iš-ḏa-gan ba-dù

Year following (the year): "The temple of Puzrish-Dagan was built."

As. 31:T.307

M 31:1

Bilalama palace

As. 31:T.634

M 32:13

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

As. 30:T.652

O 30:8

Among foundations of Ituria temple

Date Formula No. 11 (Shulgi, year 41)

mu ús-sa é pú[z]ur-iš-ḏa-gan ba-dù mu ús-sa-bi

Second year after (the year): "The temple of Puzrish-Dagan was built."

As. 31:T.625

Dump

Date Formula No. 12 (Shulgi, year 43)

mu en ḏnanna maš-e ì-pà

Year: "He perceived* the enu-priest(ess[?])† of Nanna upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid" (i.e., the king, reading the omen, perceived the idea—namely, the person to be the future enu of Nanna—immanent in the peculiar shape of the entrails).

As. 31:T.585

Under L 32:2

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace‡

* The fundamental meaning of pà (d) is "to reveal," "to lay open to perception"; cf. bldg. inser. No. 1, n. *. As for the general meaning of this formula it cannot be doubted that Thureau-Dangin rendered the sense correctly with his translation "élire par les présages," foreshadowed in his *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905) p. 13, n. 8, with which should be compared his later comment in *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad* (pp. 16 f.), which ends with the words: "Sur le mode de la consultation, nous sommes parfaitement renseignés par les textes publiés par Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*) et Klauber (*Politisch-Religiöse Texte*), ainsi que par deux inscriptions de Nabonide (n° 7, col. II et n° 8, col. XI, dans l'édition de Langdon, *Neubabyl. Königsinschr.*). On trouvait la réponse divine inscrite dans les entrailles, tout spécialement dans le foie d'un animal de sacrifice (généralement un mouton)."

† Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 129 gives good reasons for assuming that the enu—"priests" of Nanna were actually all women in spite of the masculine title en.

‡ Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which at this point was immediately above the Nurahum palace.

Date Formula No. 13 (Shulgi, year 44)

mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu-um^{ki} a-rá 10-LAL-1-kam-aš ba-ḥul

Year: "Simurru and Lulubum were sacked for the ninth time."

Var. 1: mu [l]u-lu-bu^{ki} ù si-mu-ru^{ki} a-rá 10-LAL-1-kam-aš ba-ḥulVar. 2: mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥul*

As. 30:T.290 (Var. 2)	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.343 (Var. 2)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.554	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.586 (Var. 1)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†

* The 23d year of Shulgi and the 30th year of Ibisin also can be designated in this way; see Schneider in *Analecta orientalia* No. 13 (Roma, 1936) pp. 66 f.

† See date formula No. 12, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 14 (Shulgi, year 45*)

mu ús-sa si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu-um a-rá 10-LAL-1-ka m-aš ba-hu l

Year following (the year): "Simurru and Lulubum were sacked for the ninth time."

Var: mu ús-sa si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-hu l†

As. 31:T.567	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.353 (Var.)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* This formula is an alternative for Shulgi 45 as given in *RLA* II 142 (64).

† It is not absolutely certain that this variant belongs here; cf. date formula No. 13, n. *.

‡ See date formula No. 12, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 15 (Shulgi, year 46)

mu ki-maš^{ki} [b] a-hu l

Year: "Kimash was sacked."

As. 30:T.214	L 32:3	Top layer*
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* See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Date Formula No. 16 (Shulgi, year 47)

mu ús-sa ki-maš^{ki} ba-hu l

Year following (the year): "Kimash was sacked."

As. 30:T.678	L 32:3	Below Bilalama level
As. 30:T.670	M 31:1	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.329	M 31:8	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 31:T.349	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Date Formula No. 17 (Shulgi, year 48)

mu ha-a-r-š^{ki} ba-hu l

Year: "Harshi was sacked."

As. 30:T.264	L 31*	Bilalama level
As. 31:T.582	Dump	

Shulgi's 25th year also can be designated in the same way; see Schneider, *op. cit.* p. 15.

* Outside the Bilalama building.

Date Formula No. 18 (Bursin, year 1)

m u ^dAMAR-^dS Ī n(EN-ZU) l u g a l

Year: "The divine Bursin became king."

As. 30:T.258*

L 31†

Bilalama level

As. 30:T.671

L 32:3

Below Bilalama level

* This tablet mentions the *ishakku* Kallamu. It may now be considered as practically certain that Kallamu had been transferred to Eshnunna from Kazallu by Shulgi, his overlord (as suggested in *OIC* No. 13, p. 40), for a tablet published by T. Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1932) No. 119, mentions a certain Ba-mu as *ishakku* of Eshnunna in Shulgi's 46th year, i.e., in the year when Kallamu was *ishakku* of Kazallu (Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur III Dynasty*, No. 72:3). The next year, Shulgi 47, Ba-mu disappears, and Kallamu appears for the first time as *ishakku* of Eshnunna (H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, No. 5493:5-6).

† Outside the Bilalama building.

Date Formula No. 19 (Bursin, year 4)

m u e n - m [a h] - g a l - a n - n a * b a - ħ u n †

Year: "Enmahgalanna was installed."

As. 31:T.429

M 31:9

Below Bilalama palace

* This, as shown by Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, is a cult name, not a title or epithet.

† On the reading and translation of ħ u n in these formulas see Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 17, and the important passage in British Museum, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia II* (London, 1866) Pl. 26 obv. 52: ħu-unšē | min (i.e., *na-šu-u*) šá e-ni, "to raise (to the office) of e n u-priest." [See now also J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, Berlin, "Mitteilungen" XLIV [Leipzig, 1939]) 125, n. 6.]

Date Formula No. 20 (Bursin, year 5)

m u e n ^di n a n n a b a - ħ u n *

Year: "The e n u-priest(ess[?])† of Inanna was installed."

As. 31:T.448

M 31:9

Below Bilalama palace

* See date formula No. 19, n. †.

† See date formula No. 12, n. †.

Date Formula No. 21 (Bursin, year 6)

m u š a - a š - r u - u m ^{ki} b a - ħ u l

Year: "Shashrum was sacked."

As. 31:T.424

O 30:21

Ituria temple

Date Formula No. 22 (Bursin, year 7)

m u ħ u - ú ħ - n u - r i ^{ki} b a - ħ u l

Year: "Huhnuri was sacked."

Var.: m u ħ u - ú ħ - m u - r i b a - ħ u l

As. 31:T.431 (Var.)

M 31:9

Below Bilalama palace

As. 31:T.535

M 31:23

Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

As. 30:T.691

O 30:7

Urninmar palace

Date Formula No. 23 (Bursin, year 8)

mu en-nun-ni-^dAMAR-^dsīn(EN-ZU)-ra-ki-ág* en erida^{ki} ba-ḥun
 Year: "En-nunn-e-Bursin-ra-ki-ag, the enu-priest(ess[?])† of Eridu, was installed."

Var. 1: mu en erida^{ki} ba-ḥun-gá

Var. 2: mu en erida^{ki} ba-ḥun

As. 31:T.367 (Var. 2)	L 31:12	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.368	L 31:12	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.557 (Var. 2)	Under L 31:2	Below Bilalama palace†
As. 31:T.575 (Var. 1)	M 32:10	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.402 (Var. 2)	M 32:12	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.677	M 32:13	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* Another cult name; see Landsberger, *loc. cit.* The meaning of this name would seem to be "enu, (called) 'The prince (i.e., Enki) loves Bursin!'"

† See date formula No. 12, n. †.

‡ Cf. seal legend No. 3, n. *.

Date Formula No. 24 (Bursin, year 8*)

mu ús-sa ḥu-úḥ-nu-ri^{ki} ba-ḥul
 Year following (the year): "Huhnuri was sacked."

As. 31:T.344	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.355	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* This formula is an alternative for No. 23; cf. No. 22.

Date Formula No. 25 (Bursin, year 9)

mu en ^dinanna^l ga-eš^{ki} ba-ḥun^l
 Year: "The enu-priest(ess[?])* of Nanna of Gaesh was installed."

Var.: mu en ga-eš^{ki} ba-ḥun

As. 30:T.372	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.526 (Var.)	M 30:20	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.418 (Var.)	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace

See V. Scheil in *RA* XV (1918) 138 f.

Restored on the basis of Lutz, *Selected Cuneiform Texts* ("University of California Publications in Semitic Philology" IX [Berkeley, 1931]) p. 187, No. 50:6-7.

* See date formula No. 12, n. †.

Date Formula No. 26 (Bursin, year 9*)

mu ús-sa en erida^{ki} ba-ḥun
 Year following (the year): "The enu-priest(ess[?]) of Eridu was installed."

Var.: mu ús-sa en erida^{ki} ba-ḥun-gá

As. 31:T.347	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.361 (Var.)	M 30:20	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* This formula is an alternative for No. 25; cf. No. 23.

Date Formula No. 27 (Gimilsin, year 1)

m u dšU-dšīn(EN-ZU) l u g a l

Year: "The divine Gimilsin became king."

As. 31:T.410	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.411	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.400	Dump	
As. 31:T.404	Dump	

Date Formula No. 28 (Gimilsin, year 2)

m u m á d e n - k i - k a b a - a b - d u s

Year: "The boat of Enki was caulked."*

As. 31:T.472	Under L 31:2	Below Bilalama palace†
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* On this meaning of d u s see AS No. 2, p. 29.

† See seal legend No. 3, n. *.

Date Formula No. 29 (Gimilsin, year 3)

m u s i - m a - n ú m^{ki} b a - ħ u l

Year: "Simanum was sacked."

Var.: m u s i - m a - n ú m^{ki} m u - ħ u l

As. 30:T.682	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.379	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.615 (Var.)	L 32:3	Below Bilalama level

Date Formula No. 30 (Gimilsin, year 4)

m u b à d M A R - T U b a - d ù

Year: "The Amurru fortress was built."

As. 30:T.410	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 31:T.369	M 30:20	Bilalama level
As. 31:T.387	M 31:23	Below Bilalama palace

Date Formula No. 31 (Gimilsin, year 4*)

m u ú s - s a s i - m a - n ú m^{ki} b a - ħ u l

Year following (the year): "Simanum was sacked."

Var.: [m u] ú s - s a s i - 'm a' - n u - [u m] b a - ħ u [l]

As. 30:T.432	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 31:T.321	M 30:20	Bilalama level
As. 31:T.364	M 30:20	Bilalama level
As. 31:T.365	M 30:20	Bilalama level
As. 31:T.425 (Var.)	M 32:13	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* This formula is an alternative of No. 30; cf. No. 29.

Date Formula No. 32 (Gimilsin, year 5)

mu ús-sa ^dŠU-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke₄ bàd MAR-TU mu-ri-ig-ti-id-ni-im mu-dù

Year following (the year): "The divine Gimilsin, king of Ur, built the Amurru fortress Muriq-Tidnim."

Var. 1: mu ús-sa ^dŠU-[^{ds}īn(EN-ZU)] lugal urí^{ki}[-ma] bàd MAR-TU mu-ri-ig-ti-ì-id(!)-im mu-dù

Var. 2: mu ús-sa bàd MAR-TU ba-dù

As. 30:T.296 (Var. 1)	L 31:4	Top layer
As. 30:T.651	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.679	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.680	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.681	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.683	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.685	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.563	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.279 (Var. 2)	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.654	O 30:7	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.692	O 30:7	Urninmar palace

* See date formula No. 12, n. †.

Date Formula No. 33 (Gimilsin, year 6)

mu ^dŠU-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke₄ na-rú-a maḥ ^{de}n-líl ^dnin-líl-ra mu-ne-dù

Year: "The divine Gimilsin, king of Ur, made the exalted stela for Enlil and Ninlil."

Var.: mu ^dŠU-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke₄ na-rú-a maḥ mu-dù

As. 30:T.686 (Var.)	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.689	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.458	O 30:3	Urninmar palace

Date Formula No. 34 (Gimilsin, year 6*)

mu ús-sa ^dŠU-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke₄ bàd MAR-TU mu-ri-ig-ti-id-ni-im mu-dù mu ús-sa-bi

Second year after (the year): "The divine Gimilsin, king of Ur, built the Amurru fortress Muriq-Tidnim."

As. 30:T.684	L 31:4	Below Bilalama palace
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* This formula is an alternative for No. 33; cf. No. 32.

Date Formula No. 35 (Gimilsin, year 7)

mu ^dŠU-^{ds}ī[n](EN-[ZU]) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-ke₄ ma-da za-[ab-ša]-li^{ki} [mu-ḥul]

Year: "The divine Gimilsin, king of Ur, sacked the land of Zabshalu."

As. 31:T.684	L 31:12	Below Bilalama palace
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A variant of this date is [m]u ^dŠU-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal urí^{ki}-ma-[ke₄ za]-ab-ša-lum^{ki} mu-ḥul on As. 30:T.390, found in K 31:1 below Bilalama building.

Date Formula No. 36 (Gimilsin, year 8)

mu dšU-dsīn(EN-ZU) lugal uríki-ma-ke₄ má-gur₈ maḥ den-líl dnin-líl-ra mu-ne-dím

Year: "The divine Gimilsin, king of Ur, constructed the exalted boat for Enlil and Ninlil."

Var. 1: mu dšU-dsīn(EN-ZU) lugal uríki-ma den-líl-lá dnin-líl má-gur₈ maḥ

Var. 2: mu dšU-dšU*-EN-ZU lugal uríki-ma-ke₄ má-gur₈ maḥ den-líl dnin-líl-ra mu-ne-dím

As. 30:T.391 (Var. 2)	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.396 (Var. 1)	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.427	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.430	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.292	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace

* Dittography.

Date Formula No. 37 (Gimilsin, year 9)

mu é dšara umma^{ki} - 'k a' mu-dù

Year: "He built the temple of Shara of Umma."

Var.: mu é dšara

As. 31:T.637	L 32:3	Ilushuilia-Nurahum level
As. 30:T.279 (Var.)	M 31:1	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.623 (Var.)	M 31:23	Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Date Formula No. 38 (Ibisin, year 1)

mu di-bí-dsīn(EN-ZU) lugal

Year: "The divine Ibisin became king."

As. 30:T.420	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace
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Date Formula No. 39 (Ibisin, year 2)

[m]u di-bí-dsīn(EN-ZU) [l u g a l] uríki-ma-ke₄ [e n d]i n a n n a u n u^{ki} [- g a] 'm á š - e' [i - p à]

Year: "The divine Ibisin perceived the enu-priest(ess[?]) of Inanna of Uruk upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid."*

Var.: mu en di n a n n a u n u g^{ki} - g a m á š - e i - p à

As. 30:T.380	L 31:5	Below Bilalama palace†
As. 31:T.566 (Var.)	L 32:3	Ilushuilia-Nurahum level
As. 30:T.668 (Var.)	M 31:11	Urninmar palace
As. 31:T.622 (Var.)	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

Read the full form as mu di bisin lugal urim-ak-e en di n a n n a - (k) u n u g - a (k) m á š - e i - (n) - p à (d) .

* Cf. date formula No. 12.

† Cf. seal legend No. 3, n. *.

ILUSHUILIA TO BILALAMA

Date Formula No. 40 (Ilushuilia)

mu DUMU-SAL lugal máš-e ì-pà

Year: "He perceived the daughter of the king upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid" (i.e., the omen referred to the daughter of the king).

As. 31:T.715*

L 32:3†

Ilushuilia-Nurahum level‡

Compare preceding formula and date formula No. 12. Parallels from other similar date formulas make it probable that the omen would indicate whether the princess was fit for the entu-ship of some deity. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, and Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV 129.

* This tablet has the imprint of the seal of a servant of Ilushuilia (seal legend No. 7). For dating see also comments on date formula No. 44.

† Under a part of L 32:2.

‡ Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which at this point was immediately above the Nurahum palace.

Date Formula No. 41 (Ilushuilia)

mu ús-sa DUMU-SAL lugal máš-e ì-pà

Year following (the year): "He perceived the daughter of the king upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid."

As. 31:T.549

M 32:12

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

For dating see date formula No. 40, n. *, and comments on No. 44.

Date Formula No. 42 (Nurahum)

mu dtišpak lugal-e SAG+DU* su-bir₄-a-ke₄ TU-ra† bí-in-ra-a

Year when Tishpak, the king, struck a fissure in the head of Subartu.‡

Var. 1: mu dtišpak lugal-e SAG+DU su-bir₄-a-ke₄ TU-ra bí-ra-aVar. 2: mu SAG+DU su₆-bir₄ TU-ra ba-ab-ra

As. 31:T.496

Under L 32:2

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace§

As. 31:T.460 (Var. 1)

M 32:12


Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace


As. 30:T.249 (Var. 2)

N 31:6





Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

The stratigraphy indicates the period covered by the Nurahum palace. In addition tablet As. 31:T.502 (see date formula No. 43), which dates from the year following that of No. 42, mentions a "daughter of Nurahum." It is therefore probable that both formulas belong to Nurahum's reign. Cf. also comment on date formula No. 44.

* The sign is generally carelessly written. On the more carefully written tablets, however, it shows clearly as , SAG+DU. Its meaning seems to be "skull," for the similar ideogram SAG-DU has this meaning (Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, No. 115.143 c), and it is not unusual for composite signs to be identical in value with the two components written consecutively. Examples of this are SAG+UR: gu-tu: qarradu=UR-SAG: qarradu; GÁ+NUN: gá-nun: ganunu=GÁ-NUN; GÁ+DUB: gá-du-b=GÁ-DUB; GÁ+GE₄: gá-ge₄-a: gagū=GÁ-GE₄-A: gagūm; etc. The meaning "skull" also gives excellent sense in our passage. The Sumerian pronunciation of SAG+DU, SAG-DU, was probably sadu; i.e., SAG-DU is a purely phonetic writing, sa₁₂-du, and exactly parallel to writings such as GÁ+NUN=GÁ-NUN, which should be read purely phonetically as gá-nun. That our "ideogram" is to be read sadu is also supported by Syllabary b (*CT* XI [1900] Pl. 25) rev. iv 37, SAG-DU: [...]-du: qaq-qa-du, according to which the value of SAG-DU ended in -du, and by the Sumerian name of a certain kind of locust, buru₅-sa-a-d-num (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 79a.14). This name should, if our assumption that sadu is the Sumerian word for "skull" is right, mean "skull-fly locust"; and actually the Akkadian term for this locust is qagqadānu, "the one with the skull."

† The first sign is , i.e., *Šum. Lex.*, No. 58.1 A. It occurs also in a Bilalama date formula (No. 70) and in one example of the longer variant given by Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, p. 232, n. n (= *CT* V [1898] Pl. 18 x 15-28), for the 43d year of Šulgi: mu dšul-gi nita_h kal-ga lugal ur₁^{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da-lim mu-ba-ke₄ ur-bil-lum^{ki} si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} ù gán-ḫar^{ki}-ra dili-eš-šē SAG+DU-bi (I read so instead of SAG-SIG₇-bi) šu-búr-ra im-mi-ra. Instead of šu-búr-ra (just cited), šu-búr-a

Date Formula No. 42

Re-examination of the sign rendered bir_4 in the text has shown that the most explicit form given is  (also ). This form corresponds to forms of BAPPIR (see N. Schneider, *Die Keilschriftzeichen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III* ["Keilschrift-Paläographie," hrsg. von A. Deimel, Heft 2 (Rom 1, 1935)] No. 758) rather than to bir_4 (EDIN). Whether BAPPIR also had a value bir_x or whether simplified forms of bir_4 (e.g. , ) merged with BAPPIR in the Eshnunna system of writing or whether SU-BAPPIR is a country distinct from s u - bir_4 we are unable to decide with certainty. At any rate the identity of the country of this formula with Subartu, assumed in the present volume, is not certain.

(RA IX, Pl. 1 [=p. 57] SA 9), or búr-a (*ibid.* SA 17), M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, Pt. II ("Harvard Semitic Series" IV [Cambridge, Mass., 1915]) No. 106, gives $\tau\bar{u}$ (*Šum Lex.*, No. 58.1 A)-x-ra, corresponding to the $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra of our formula. Since $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra and búr-ra thus interchange in the Shulgi formula, they would seem to be identical, at least in meaning. As búr has the meaning "to split," "to cleave," it is therefore possible that we should translate $\text{sag}+\text{du-bi}(-e)$ burr-a immi-(n)-ra as "he struck a fissure (bur-a) in their skull" and $\text{sag}+\text{du-bi}(-e)$ šu burr-a (or šu $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra) immi-(n)-ra as "he inflicted a gaping wound (lit., 'a split'; šu—búr=*qarāšu*, 'to cleave') on their skull."

‡ Since Nurahum was at war with Subartu, as shown by this formula, it is probable that his kingdom bordered upon that state, probably at the Diyālā. Concerning the extent of Subartu opinions have varied a great deal, but it now seems certain that it represents northern Mesopotamia from the Euphrates in the west to beyond the Tigris in the east. The southern boundary seems to have run from a point above Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates to approximately the Diyālā. On the location of Subartu see E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (Philadelphia, 1930) pp. 125 ff., and Landsberger in ZA XXXV (1924) 228 ff., where most of the pertinent material known up to 1934 will be found, and in OLZ XXXIV 130, where Landsberger retracts his earlier view that Subartu represented only the country east of the Tigris. See also a letter published by Thureau-Dangin (RA XXXIII [1936] 171-77) according to which Hammurabi wanted the ruler of Maeri to "go up" into the land of Subartu. Subartu must accordingly have stretched to the region north of Maeri (Tell el-Hariri, above Abū Kamāl)—a fact which gives new proof of its extension westward. It is still uncertain whether Subartu is merely a geographical term or has also political connotations. The former is the view generally accepted; but there are cases where Subartu seems to stand for a political entity dominated by the king of Assur. To the literature here quoted add now Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936).

§ Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which at this point was immediately above the Nurahum palace.

Date Formula No. 43 (Nurahum)

mu ús-sa ⁴tišpak lugal-e $\text{sag}+\text{du}$ su-bir₄-a-ke₄ $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra bí-ra-a
Year following (the year) when Tishpak, the king, struck a fissure in the head of Subartu.

Var. 1: mu ús-sa $\text{sag}+\text{du}$ su-bir₄-a-ke₄ $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra ba-ab-ra

Var. 2: mu ús-sa $\text{sag}+\text{du}$ su-bir₄-a $\tau\bar{u}$ -ra ba-ab-ra

Var. 3: mu ús-sa $\text{sag}+\text{du}$ su-bir₄-a-ke₄ ba-ab-ra

As. 31:T.473	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.477	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.481 (Var. 2)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.483 (Var. 1)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.485 (Var. 3)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.487	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.489	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.493	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.495	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.497	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.499	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.500 (Var. 1)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.501	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.502	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.504	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.509 (Var. 1)	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.514	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace*
As. 31:T.455 (Var. 1)	L 32:3	Ilushuilia-Nurahum level
As. 31:T.423 (Var. 1)	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.541 (Var. 3)	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.550 (Var. 3)	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.726	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.629 (Var. 3)	In the street south of M 32:10	Ilushuilia-Nurahum level

For dating cf. date formulas Nos. 42 and 44.

* Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which at this point is immediately above the Nurahum palace.

Date Formula No. 44 (Nurahum)

mu ^{is}b an šur ma ḥ dt i š pak ba - d í m

Year: "The exalted table* of Tishpak was made."

Var.: mu ^{is}b an šur ma ḥ ba - d í m

As. 31:T.459	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.466	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.468	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.474	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.475	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.476	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.479	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.498	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.505	Under L 32:2	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace†
As. 31:T.470	M 32:16	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.454	O 30:19	Urninmar palace
As. 31:T.140	P 31:1‡	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.145 (Var.)	P 31:1‡	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.184	P 31:1‡	Ituria temple

This formula has been assigned to the reign of Nurahum on the following grounds: As will be seen, it occurs chiefly in two places, namely in the area under L 32:2 and in P 31:1; it is found once in M 32:16. The tablets with this formula which were found under L 32:2 belong to the archive of one Isharramashu who must have functioned in the years represented by formulas Nos. 40, 42, 43, and 44; for all the dated tablets from his archive have one or another of these four formulas. The tablet from M 32:16 (As. 31:T.470) also belongs to an archive, namely that of Abilulu, of which the main body was found in M 32:12, of the Ilushuilia-Nurahum level. Abilulu's archive must have been formed during the very same years as was Isharramashu's; for we find the same formulas—Nos. 41 (for the year after No. 40), 42, 43, and 44—and no others. The remarkable correspondence between the date formulas occurring in these two different archives proves clearly that the five formulas which they contain must have been for successive years; for while it is quite natural that two archives formed during the same period should both contain dates from every year of the period, it is highly improbable that out of ten consecutive years, for instance, exactly the same years should be represented in both archives and exactly the same years should be missed by both archives.

Having thus ascertained that the year dates of the archives of Abilulu and Isharramashu form a successive group, we may turn to the question as to where in that group formula No. 44 is to be placed. As mentioned above, the formula occurs also on tablets found in P 31:1. The tablets from deep levels in this locus yielded eleven date formulas, but none of the others occurs in the archives of Abilulu and Isharramashu. Where we can test the time of the other formulas, they prove to belong to the reigns of Kirikiri and Bilalama; so it seems probable that the lot in P 31:1 is later than the archives of Abilulu and Isharramashu, but with an overlap of one year, namely the one indicated by formula No. 44, which occurs in all three groups. If this is so, this year must be the last of the Abilulu-Isharramashu group. It should be assigned to Nurahum, since one of the other formulas in P 31:1 records the accession of Kirikiri (date formula No. 45).

* On the ritual tables in Babylonian and Assyrian temples upon which the offerings were placed see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II 73. That such a table was actually considered the dinner table of the god may be inferred from Gudea Cyl. A x 27-29 (SAK, p. 100), where Ningirsu says: é-ba-gá ki ban šur-ra-mu dingir-gal-gal laga ša^{ki}-a-ke-ne gú-ma-si-si-ne, "In Ebaga, my dining-room (lit., 'my place of the table'), the great gods of Lagash assemble." Other formulas referring to ritual tables are Nos. 87 and 123.

† Much disturbed by foundations of the Urninmar building, which at this point was immediately above the Nurahum palace.

‡ Tablets found in this locus and designated as coming from "Ituria temple" were found from the floor of the earliest occupation of the temple up to the floor of Bilalama's building. With the exception of No. 44 all the year dates seem to belong to the following reigns of Kirikiri and Bilalama (see Nos. 45-46, 49-52, 59, 61, 64, and 70).

Date Formula No. 45 (Kirikiri)

mu ki-ri-ki-ri ensi áš-nun-na

Year: "Kirikiri became *ishakku* of Eshnunna."

Var. 1: mu ki-ri-ki-ri ensi áš-nun^{ki}

Var. 2: mu ki-ri-ki-ri ensi

As. 31:T.401 (Var. 1)	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.406	M 32:12	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.202	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 30:T.741 (Var. 2)	O 30:19	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.128	P 30:3	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.115 (Var. 1)	P 31:1*	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.119 (Var. 1)	P 31:1*	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.129 (Var. 1)	P 31:1*	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.153	P 31:1*	Ituria temple

* See discussion in n. ‡ to No. 44.

Date Formula No. 46 (Kirikiri)

mu má-gur_s ^dtišpak ba-ab-du_s

Year: "The boat of Tishpak* was caulked."†

Var. 1: mu [má]-gur_s maḥ b[a-ab]-du_s

Var. 2: mu má-gur_s ^dtišpak

Var. 3: mu má-gur_s

As. 31:T.435	M 32:3	Urninmar palace
As. 31:T.451 (Var. 2)	M 32:3	Urninmar palace
As. 31:T.196	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.264	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.470 (Var. 3)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.747 (Var. 1)	O 31:5	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.108	P 30:3	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.107‡	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.125	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.127	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.148	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.154	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.172	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 30:T.750	Dump	

* On the boat of Tishpak compare Nos. 83, 89, and 101. It is mentioned further on As. 30:T.471, which has the entry: 2 sila i-giš 2 ma-na kù-babbar má-gur_s ^dtišpak min-a-ba, "2 sila (of) oil, 2 mana (of) silver. (For) the boat of Tishpak, twice."

† On du_s, "to caulk," see AS No. 2, p. 29.

‡ Tablet As. 31:T.107 mentions Kirikiri in the text.

§ See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 47⁸⁰

mu i-ku-un-pí-^dtišpak dumu nitaḥ lugal tu* šub-ba máš-e
i-pà†

Year: "He perceived upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid Ikunpitishpak, son of the king, who" (i.e., the omen had reference to the son of the king).

⁸⁰ Nos. 47-61 cannot as yet be assigned to specific rulers, but they are known to fall within the Ilushuilia-Bilalama period.

As. 31:T.426 M 30:20 Outside the wall of Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
Compare date formulas Nos. 12 and 39.

* The sign seems to be *tu* (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 58.1 A) or—less likely—a badly written *gú*.

† On *máš-e-pà* compare date formula No. 12, n. *.

Date Formula No. 48⁸⁰

mu ús-sa dumu nitah lugal máš-e ì-pà mu ús-sa-bi
Second year after (the year): "He perceived the son of the king upon the (entrails of the omen-)kid."

As. 31:T.591 M 32:12 Bilalama palace

Date Formula No. 49⁸⁰

mu alam gi-ri-um ba-dím*
Year: "The statue of carnelian(?) was made."

Var.: *mu alam gi-ri*

As. 31:T.112 P 31:1† Ituria temple
As. 31:T.252 (Var.) P 31:1† Ituria temple

* *gi-ri-um* is unknown to me. Is it perhaps—as assumed in the translation—the same word as *gi-ri-im*: *sāmtu* (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 85.190)?

† See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 50⁸⁰

mu uku-uš ka ba-ab-kešda
Year: "The sergentry was taken in oath."*

Var. 1: *mu uku-uš ka*

Var. 2: *mu uku-uš*

As. 31:T.162a P 31:1† Ituria temple
As. 31:T.165 (Var. 2) P 31:1† Ituria temple
As. 31:T.175 (Var. 1) P 31:1† Ituria temple

* On *ka-kešda*, "to bind by an oath," "to make a treaty or covenant," see AS No. 2, p. 36; *Šum. Lex.*, No. 15.158.

† See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 51⁸⁰

*mu uru^{ki} bíl ki ba-a-gar**
Year: "The new city was founded."

Var. 1: *mu uru-bíl^{ki} ki ba-a-gar*

Var. 2: *mu uru bíl ki ba-gar-ra*

As. 30:T.471 (Var. 1) O 30:18 Ituria temple
As. 31:T.178 P 31:1† Ituria temple
As. 31:T.254 (Var. 2) Outside south wall 1 m. below surface
of Southern Building

* *ba-a-gar* stands for *ba-ḡ-gar* < *ba-n-gar*; cf. *GSG*, § 480.

† See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 52⁸⁰

m u ú s - s a u r u b í l m u ú s - s a - b i

Second year after (the year): "The new city."

As. 31:T.173

P 31:1*

Ituria temple

* See No. 44, n. †.

Date Formula No. 53⁸⁰m u t u - t u - u b^{ki} b a - d í b

Year: "Tutub* was captured."

As. 31:T.326†

M 32:13

Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace

* The city of Tutub is represented by Khafājah D; see p. 123.

† This tablet was found below a gray-green rubbish layer (see pp. 63 and 66; cf. *OIC* No. 16, p. 9) which in that section of the excavation separated the Bilalama palace from the Nurahum palace. The same event figures in formula No. 54, found in the Bilalama palace; but As. 31:T.326, as the deepest (i.e., the earliest) occurrence of the formula, is decisive in judging its age.

Date Formula No. 54⁸⁰m u ú s - s a t u (?) * - t u - u b^{ki} b a - d í b

Year following (the year): "Tutub was captured."

As. 31:T.136

P 30:3

Bilalama palace

Compare No. 53 for dating.

* The sign looks like b i l. Since it stands at the end of a line, it would be possible to read m u ú s - s a b i l [t u] - t u - u b^{ki} b a - d í b.

Date Formula No. 55⁸⁰m u M A R - T U a - š à i - b i - ^{ds} [ī n] (E [N - Z U]) b a - a b - r a

Year: "Amurru smote 'The Field of Ibisin.' "*"

As. 31:T.7

Dump

This formula was placed in this section on account of its reference to Amurru, a state which plays a prominent role in the formulas of the Bilalama period.

* a - š à i - b i - ^{ds} i n, "The Field of Ibisin," is not to my knowledge mentioned elsewhere.

Date Formula No. 56⁸⁰m u b à d á š * - n u n^{ki} - k a b a - d ù

Year: "The wall of Eshnunna was built."

Var.: m u b à d á š - n u n^{ki} b a - d ù

As. 31:T.185 (Var.)

O 30:17

Ituria temple

As. 30:T.241

O 31:2

Bilalama palace

* Thus I would now prefer to read this sign (*AS* No. 6: è š). The ends of the horizontal wedges have been completely blotted out by the vertical wedge.

Date Formula No. 57⁸⁰

mu alam bād-dû-a ba-dím

Year: "The statue (of the *ishakku* in the act of) building the wall* was made."

Var.: mu alam ba-dím†

As. 31:T.366	M 32:11	Ilushuilia-Nurahum palace
As. 31:T.25	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.27	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.37† (Var.)	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 30:T.354	P 31:1	Bilalama palace

* For a general idea of what the statue referred to in the formula may have been like, cf. the statues of Gudea as an architect (E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* [Paris, 1884-1912] II, Pls. 14 and 18), also the lowest register of the Urnammu stela from Ur (*Antiquaries Journal* V [1925] Pl. XLVIII), the bronze figure of Waradsin as a basket-bearer (British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* [3d ed.; London, 1922] p. 86), and a stela of Ashurbanipal (*op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII), etc. The wall referred to may be the "wall of Eshnunna" mentioned in formula No. 56. Another possibility would be the "wall of Esikil" mentioned in formula No. 80, but No. 80 seems to be later. Cf. also No. 63.

† This rather noncommittal formula has been counted as an abbreviation of No. 57, since the tablet on which it occurs, As. 31:T.37, was found together with As. 31:T.25 and As. 31:T.27.

Date Formula No. 58⁸⁰mu ^{giš}u-nir ^{na}giš-nu_x*-gal ba-dím

Year: "The emblem of alabaster was made."

Var. 1: mu šu-nir ^{na}giš-nu_x-gal ba-dímVar. 2: mu šu-nir ^{na}giš-nu_x(!) ba-dímVar. 3: mu ^{giš}u-nir ^{na}giš-nu_x-galVar. 4: mu šu-nir na₄

As. 31:T.413 (Var. 3)	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 31:T.684b (Var. 4)	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.692 (Var. 1)	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.696 (Var. 1)	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.697 (Var. 1)	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.698	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.701	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.711	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.712 (Var. 1)	L 30:2	Below Bilalama building
As. 31:T.656 (Var. 2)	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.658	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.680	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.682	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.683	M 31:9	Below Bilalama palace

* On this value of šir see H. S. Schuster in *ZA* XLIV (1938) 263, n. 10.

Date Formula No. 59⁸⁰mu gidri maḥ ^d[tišpak] ba-ta[g]

Year: "The exalted stick of Tishpak was cut."

Var. 1: mu gidri maḥ ^dtišpak

Var. 2: mu gidri maḥ

As. 31:T.29 (Var. 1)	O 30:17	Ituria temple
As. 30:T.242 (Var. 2)	O 31:2	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.168	P 31:1*	Ituria temple

* See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 60⁸⁰

mu na-bi-^dtišpak^{ki} ba-dù

Year: "Nabitishpak* was built."

Var.: mu na-bi-^dtišpak^{ki}

As. 30:T.751

O 30:4

Palace of Three Rulers

As. 30:T.714

O 30:12

Ituria temple

As. 31:T.91 (Var.)

O 30:17

Bilalama palace

As. 30:T.250

O 31:2

Ituria temple

* The city Nabitishpak must have been situated within the kingdom of Eshnunna, since the (re)building of it is recorded. Cf. date formula No. 118, which records the digging of a canal named from this city.

Date Formula No. 61⁸⁰

mu TUN maḥ ^dtišpak ba-dím

Year: "The exalted ax of Tishpak was made."

Var.: mu TUN maḥ ba-dím

As. 30:T.256

M 31:1

Bilalama palace

As. 31:T.157 (Var.)

P 31:1*

Ituria temple

This piece of information is of importance for our knowledge of Tishpak's character. Since the ax is a characteristic attribute of weather gods, it constitutes a welcome piece of evidence for Tishpak as god of thunderstorms and lightning. See *OIC* No. 13, pp. 53 f.

* See No. 44, n. †.

BILALAMA TO URNINMAR

Date Formula No. 62 (Bilalama)

mu bi-la-la-ma ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} é-sikil ^dtišpak ba-dù

Year: "Bilalama, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, built of his own accord the Esikil of Tishpak."

As. 30:T.350

O 30:19

Just below Bilalama palace*

Compare Bilalama's brick inscription, bldg. inscr. No. 4.

* The occurrence of this formula just under the Bilalama palace is in accordance with the supposition that Bilalama built Esikil before he built his palace, a conclusion reached because bricks left over from the construction of Esikil were found used in the palace.

Date Formula No. 63 (Bilalama)

[mu a]lam é-dù-a ba-dím

Year: "The statue (of the *ishakku* in the act of) building the temple was made."

As. 30:T.722

O 30:16

Bilalama palace

Compare the similar formula No. 57.

Date Formula No. 64 (Bilalama)

mu MAR-TU i-šur^{ki} ba-gaz

Year: "Amurru sacked Ishur."*

Var. 1: mu MAR-TU i-šur^{ki} ba-gaz-a

Var. 2: mu MAR-TU bala i-šur^{ki} ba-gaz-a†

As. 31:T.310 (Var. 1)	L 31:6	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.246 (Var. 1)	O 30:12	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.82	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.87 (Var. 1)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.88 (Var. 1)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.93	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.468	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.245† (Var. 2)	P 30:4	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.122	P 31:1‡	Ituria temple

This date formula has been assigned to the reign of Bilalama because its subject matter, the sack of Ishur by Amurru, seems to be closely connected in time with the transfer to Bilalama of the authority over this city as recorded in No. 65. The provenience of the tablets which bear formula No. 64 is in favor of assigning the formula to Bilalama's time, for they were scattered in and just below the Bilalama palace.

* From As. 30:T.141 we learn that offerings of oil were paid out in Eshnunna for "Ishhara of Ishur." Ishhara was therefore, in all probability, the chief deity of that city. An account from the time of Gimilsin of Ur (As. 30:T.687) deals with expenditures paid out in Ishur (*zi-ga u₄ 4-kam ša i-šur-ra^{ki}*). Since at that time Ishur was administratively under Eshnunna, it should probably be sought in the immediate neighborhood of the latter.

† Possibly this variant, found on As. 31:T.245, actually belongs under No. 65; the scribe, after he had written *mu MAR-TU bala i-šur^{ki}* of No. 65, may have strayed back into the older, more familiar formula just as nowadays one may occasionally date a letter written in January, 1938, to January, 1937, because one is more used to the old figure.

‡ See No. 44, n. †.

Date Formula No. 65 (Bilalama)

mu MAR-TU bala i-šur^{ki} bi-la-la-ma-ra mu-na-an-sim*

Year: "Amurru intrusted to Bilalama the rule* of Ishur."

As. 30:T.253 O 30:13 2-3 cm. below floor level of Bilalama palace

Compare date formula No. 64 and notes.

* *bala* meant originally "turn," then also "period of office" (see e.g. *Šum. Lex.*, No. 9.16). That Amurru gave Bilalama the *bala* of Ishur must mean that Amurru asked Bilalama to fill a term of the periodical office as ruler of Ishur. The word used, *bala*, does not imply that the term was necessarily of short duration; on the contrary, it was probably for Bilalama's lifetime, for *bala* is frequently used to denote the whole period of a king's reign (e.g. *SAK*, p. 208, Tonnagel A ii 16-18; p. 214, Steintafel, lines 15-18; p. 222, Tonnagel, lines 15-20). On Bilalama's relations to Amurru see Frankfort's discussion of this formula and its historical implications in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 31 f.

Date Formula No. 66 (Bilalama)

*mu MAR-[T]U [k á] -^di - ba - um - ma sa g ba - ga z**

Year: "Amurru smote Ka-Ibaum† upon the head."

Var.: '*mu*' *MAR-TU [k á] -^di - ba - um ba - ga z*

As. 30:T.248 (Var.) O 30:8 Bilalama palace

As. 30:T.664 O 30:18 Bilalama palace

This formula is dated with certainty to Bilalama's reign by the following two formulas, Nos. 67 and 68.

* *sa g — ga z* : *maḥāšu ša* [. . .] (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 115.142).

† The city name *Ka -^di ba um* (or Akkadian: *Bāb-^dIbaum?*), "the gate of the god Ibaum," occurs as far as I know only here and in date formulas Nos. 67-69. The god Ibaum is unknown to me.

Date Formula No. 67 (Bilalama)

mu ús - 'sa' MAR-TU k á -^di - ba - um ba - a b - ra

Year following (the year): "Amurru smote Ka-Ibaum."*

As. 30:T.736† Dump

* See date formula No. 66, n. †.

† This tablet bears the impression of a seal with Bilalama's name, seal legend No. 18d.

Date Formula No. 68 (Bilalama)

mu ús-sa MAR-TU ká-di-ba-um ba-gaz mu ús-sa-bi
 Second year after (the year): "Amurru sacked Ka-Ibaum."*

Var.: mu ús-sa MAR-TU ká-di-ba-um ba-ab-ra mu ús-sa-bi

As. 30:T.738†	O 30:4	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.730† (Var.)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.732 (Var.)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.745	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.51	O 30:18	Bilalama palace

* See date formula No. 66, n. †.

† Tablets As. 30:T.730 and As. 30:T.738 bear impressions of seals with Bilalama's name, seal legends Nos. 18b and 18e respectively.

Date Formula No. 69 (Bilalama)

mu bād-bar^{ki}* ká-di-ba-um ba-dù
 Year: "Bad-bar (and) Ka-Ibaum† were built."

Var. 1: mu bād-bar ká-di-ba-um ba-dù

Var. 2: mu bād-bar ká-di-ba-um

Var. 3: mu bād-bar^{ki}* ba-dù

Var. 4: mu bād-bar ba-dù

As. 30:T.466 (Var. 2)	O 30:3	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.252 (Var. 1)	O 30:4	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.464	O 30:4	Urninmar palace
As. 31:T.283 (Var. 1)	O 30:4	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.247 (Var. 4)	O 30:12	Ituria temple‡
As. 30:T.351 (Var. 3)	O 30:12	Ituria temple‡
As. 30:T.705	O 30:12	Ituria temple‡
As. 30:T.716 (Var. 4)	O 30:13	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.74 (Var. 4)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.75 (Var. 4)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.84 (Var. 3)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.92§ (Var. 4)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.725 (Var. 4)	O 30:18	Ituria temple‡
As. 31:T.262 (Var. 1)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.263 (Var. 1)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.265 (Var. 1)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.266** (Var. 4)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.275 (Var. 1)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.276 (Var. 1)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.277 (Var. 2)	O 30:18	Bilalama palace

* The determinative KI in bād-bar^{ki} shows it to be the town Bad-bar (or perhaps better Bad-bara) and not bād-bar, "outer wall." The town Bad-bara does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere in the texts from Tell Asmar, but the Assyrian annals frequently mention a town Bit-barrua or Bit-barrū which according to Tiglathpileser III was situated in or near Tupliash; see Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III* (Leipzig, 1893) II 19, Pl(atte) XXXII, line 17, and *LAR I*, § 784. For further references see *ibid.* II 454 (index). This Bit-barrū may represent an older Bad-bara and is possibly identical with our town.

† See date formula No. 66.

‡ It should be remembered that the uppermost section of the "Ituria temple" would date to the beginning of Bilalama's reign, before he started his rebuilding.

§ Tablet As. 31:T.92 refers to Bilalama in the text.

** Tablet As. 31:T.266 bears the impression of a seal of a servant of Nurahum (seal legend No. 11). Possibly this seal was re-used; otherwise this is an indication that the time between Nurahum and Bilalama was not great.

Date Formula No. 70 (Bilalama)

mu bi-la-la-ma ensi áš-nun^{ki} SAG+DU* MAR-TU šu TU-ra† bi†-in-ra
 Year: "Bilalama, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, inflicted a gaping wound† on the head of Amurru."

Var. 1: mu bi-la-la-ma ensi áš-nun^{ki} SAG+DU MAR-TU šu TU-ra

Var. 2: mu SAG+DU MAR-TU šu TU-ra bi-in-ra

As. 31:T.73 (Var. 1)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.95 (Var. 2)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.114 (Var. 2)	P 30:3	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.163 (Var. 2)	P 31:1§	Ituria temple
As. 31:T.167	P 31:1§	Ituria temple

* See date formula No. 42 and its n. *

† See *ibid.*, n. †.

‡ The writing of this verbal prefix with bi instead of bī is normal from the time of Bilalama; cf. Nos. 98, 100, 107, and 110. On the different writings of this prefix see *GSG*, § 586. For the usage of older periods see also S. N. Kramer, *AS* No. 8. At the late period with which we are concerned the sign BI would certainly seem to be only an orthographic variant of the more frequent sign Bī, both representing a reading bi.

§ See No. 44, n. ‡.

Date Formula No. 71 (Ušurawasu)

mu ú-šur-a-wa-sú ensi áš-nun^{ki} ^{giš}gu-za maḥ ^dnin-giš-zi-da
 ba-dím

Year: "Ušurawasu, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made the exalted throne of Ningishzida."

Var. 1: [mu ^{giš}gu-za ^dnin-[giš-z]i-da

Var. 2: mu ^{giš}gu-za

As. 30:T.451 (Var. 2)	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.232*	O 30:7	In vertical drain
As. 30:T.100 (Var. 1)	P 29:5	Urnimar building

* Bears seal legend No. 20.

Date Formula No. 72 (Ušurawasu)

mu ^ú1-šur-a-wa-sú e[n s]i áš-nun^{ki} [...] -ni-šu nin-dingir-[...] in-^íl-lá

Year: "Ušurawasu, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, installed . . . as entu-priestess."

As. 31:T.58	P 32:6	Top layer
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The broken passages should perhaps be restored as follows: mu ^ú1-šur-a-wa-sú ensi áš-nun^{ki} [DUMU-SAL]-ni-šu nin-dingir-[ra-šè íb-ši-]in-í-l-lá, "Year: 'Ušurawasu, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, installed his daughter as entu.'" On the curious hybrid form DUMU-SAL-ni-šu instead of either DUMU-SAL-ni or DUMU-SAL-šu (*marta-šu*) compare the writing DUMU-ni-šu, "his son," in the seal of Bilalama (see seal legend No. 12 above and *OIC* No. 13, pp. 42 f.). Another irregularity which this restoration presumes is nin-dingir-ra-šè íb-ši-in-í-l-lá instead of the form nam-nin-dingir-ra-šè íb-ši-in-í-l-lá which one expects. On the subject matter of the formula compare the literature quoted under date formulas No. 12, n. †, and No. 40.

Date Formula No. 73 (Azuzum)

mu a-^zu¹-zum ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} ^{giš}KISAL [...] NI]R(?) KU i-dím-ma
 Year when Azuzum, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made the

As. 30:T.559	O 30:7	In vertical drain
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Date Formula No. 74⁸¹m u a l a m n a₄ m i n b a - d í m

Year: "The two stone statues were made."

As. 30:T.167	L 32:1	Top layer*
As. 30:T.169	L 32:1	Top layer*
As. 31:T.39†	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.261	O 30:18	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.278	O 30:18	Bilalama palace

* At this point the Bilalama walls came to the surface of the mound.

† Tablet As. 31:T.39 reads m u [...] a l a m n a₄ [...] b a - [...]. Since the space after m u is fairly large, it is possible that we should restore m u [ú s - s a] a l a m n a₄ [m i n] b a - [d í m], "Year following (the year): 'The two stone statues were made.'"

Date Formula No. 75⁸¹m u ^{is}t u k u l m a ḥ m a š - t a b - b a b a - d í m

Year: "The exalted twin weapon was made."

As. 31:T.111	N 30:8	Bilalama palace
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It is probable that this formula is actually only a variant of No. 76. Both ^{is}t u k u l and ^{is}š u - n i r mean in this context a divine emblem. The object referred to as the "exalted twin weapon" or the "exalted twin emblem" may have resembled the emblem of Shuqamuna and Shumaliya—a mace the head of which is formed of two separate lion-heads—pictured on boundary stones (see Unger in *ERV* IV [Berlin, 1926] 436).

Date Formula No. 76⁸¹m u ^{is}š u - n i r m a ḥ m a š - t a b - b a b a - d í m

Year: "The exalted twin emblem* was made."

Var.: m u ^{is}š u - n i r m a ḥ m a š - t a b - b a

As. 31:T.427	L 32:3	Top layer† (Bilalama level)
As. 31:T.436 (Var.)	L 32:3	Top layer† (Bilalama level)
As. 31:T.438	L 32:3	Top layer† (Bilalama level)
As. 31:T.631	L 32:12	Below Bilalama building

For dating cf. date formula No. 77.

* Cf. date formula No. 75 and comment there.

† In the portion of square L 32 lying west of the Urninmar palace, as well as in the "northwest wing," the Bilalama level lay just below the modern surface of the mound.

Date Formula No. 77⁸¹m u ^{id}t a - b a - a n k ù - b a b b a r b a - d í m

Year: "The silver (likeness of the) river Ṭaban* was made."

As. 31:T.430	L 32:3	Top layer† (Bilalama level)
As. 31:T.432	L 32:3	Top layer† (Bilalama level)

Tablets with this formula were found together with tablets which bore formula No. 76. It is therefore probable that the two formulas, Nos. 76-77, are near each other in time.

* The Ṭaban River probably ran parallel to and east of the present Beled-Ruz canal. I hope to discuss the identification of this river in a forthcoming publication. Besides the date formula under discussion, which in itself shows its importance, two other texts refer to this river: As. 31:T.324 mentions "sacrifices at a field on the bank of the Ṭaban," and As. 30:T.243 refers to the dam (reservoir?) of the Ṭaban (k u n - z i - d a ^{id}t a - b a - a n). The "Ṭaban of silver," to which our formula refers, we must imagine as a silver statue or relief of the god who personified this river. Compare the similar case of a "bronze god (of the) Turnat" mentioned in date formula No. 119.

† See date formula No. 76, n. †.

⁸¹ Date formulas Nos. 74-87 cannot as yet be assigned to specific rulers, but they are known to fall within the Bilalama-Urninmar period.

Date Formula No. 78⁸¹m u 'š i l - e l - d t [i š p a k]^{ki} b a - d ù

Year: "Šiltishpak* was built."

Var.: [m u] 'š i l^([gi]š MI) - d t i š p a k] b a - [d ù]

As. 30:T.244 (Var.)	O 31:2	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.698	O 31:2	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.712	O 31:2	Bilalama palace

* The name of this city does not seem to occur elsewhere.

Date Formula No. 79⁸¹

m u ú s - s a š i l (MI) - d t i š p a k b a - d ù

Year following (the year): "Šiltishpak was built."

Var. 1: m u ú s - s a š i - i l - d t i š p a k b a - d ù

Var. 2: m u ú s - s a š i - e l - d t i š p a k b a - d ù

As. 30:T.718 (Var. 1)	O 29:9*	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.721 (Var. 2)	O 30:16	Below Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.40	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.65 (Var. 2)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.76 (Var. 1)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.79 (Var. 2)	O 30:17	Bilalama palace

* See discussion of this area in n. † to date formula No. 101.

Date Formula No. 80⁸¹

m u b à d é - s i k i l b a - d ù

Year: "The wall* of Esikil was built."

As. 31:T.155	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
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* Cf. date formula No. 57, n. *.

Date Formula No. 81⁸¹

m u M A R - T U g ú i m - g a r

Year: "Amurru made submission."

As. 30:T.262	P 31:2	Bilalama palace
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Compare p. 159, n. 72.

Date Formula No. 82⁸¹

m u u r u d u a l a m g u b - [b a] é - d t i š p a k - [k] a b a - d í m

Year: "The standing bronze statue of (i.e., in) the temple of Tishpak* was made."

Var. m u u r u d u a l a m b a - d í m

As. 31:T.151 (Var.)	N 31:13	Bilalama palace
As. 30:T.530	O 30:7	In vertical drain

* é - d t i š p a k a (or *būt-tišpak*), "the temple of Tishpak," is frequently mentioned in the date formulas (e.g. Nos. 82, 92, 94, 95, and 120). It is the term chosen when the date formula in question refers to a cult object belonging to or brought into the temple. When the date formula commemorates some building activity, however, the name Esikil is used (e.g. Nos. 62 and 80). That these two terms should refer to two different temples of Tishpak is not probable, for we would then have to assume that the date formulas mentioned only such cult objects and statues as were presented to one

(é-^{dt}išpaka) and not those presented to the other (Tishpak's main temple, Esikil); and this is evidently absurd. It is more likely that the temple was referred to usually as "the Tishpak temple," while in more official documents, such as building inscriptions or date formulas commemorating building activities and therefore influenced by the language of the building inscriptions, the official name "Esikil" would be used.

The temple figures frequently in the texts from the palace—e.g. in As. 30:T.25; mu-ša-kum offerings for é-^{dt}išpaka are mentioned in As. 30:T.12, 14, 19, 43; a sheep for é-^{dt}išpaka in As. 30:T.68; honey and butter for é-^{dt}išpaka in As. 30:T.110. A separate chapel for Tishpak, different from Esikil, may be referred to in é-^{dt}išpaka šà gegurua, "the Tishpak temple in the giguru," which is mentioned in As. 30:T.86 and 30:T.92 (mu-ša-kum é-^{dt}išpak-ka šà ge₄-gurur-a); cf. also As. 30:T.55: 1 udu é-^{dt}išpak-ka u₄ zur₇-zur₇ ge₄-gurur, "one sheep for the temple of Tishpak on the sacrifice day of the giguru." The word giguru (also giburu, gibara, Akkadian *giparu*) has been variously explained. It denotes a special kind of temple in which—among other things—the entu of the god serves. Only one giguru has been excavated, é-gipar-ku(g) in Ur.

Date Formula No. 83⁸¹

mu m^á-gur₈ ma_h muš-_huš-a* ba-dím

Year: "The exalted dragon-boat† was made."

Var.: mu m^á-gur₈ ma_h ba-dím

As. 30:T.425 (Var.)	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 31:T.528	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 30:T.442 (Var.)	M 31:1	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.604 (Var.)	M 32:15‡	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.26	O 30:17	Bilalama palace

* The mušhuššu, the "terrifying serpent," is well known as the sacred animal of Marduk of Babylon. As such it is pictured on the famous reliefs of glazed bricks from the Ishtar Gate (Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 4th ed., Fig. 31). In Eshnunna also the mušhuššu has been found; on the back of a curious sculptured group found during the season 1932/33 (see *OIC* No. 17, pp. 49 f. and Figs. 44–45) is a representation of this monster, and it occurs together with the god in a presentation scene on a seal impression from the Agade period, As. 33:104. The seal legend is dedicated to Tishpak ([^{dt}i]špak [ur]-sag [...]) sar p[ú]zur-ru-um dup-ša[r] warad-zu, "O Tishpak, . . . warrior, Puzurru the scribe is your servant"; hence there can be no doubt about the god's identity. In Eshnunna, therefore, the mušhuššu belonged to Tishpak. Since we thus have proof that the mušhuššu was connected with Tishpak, it seems natural to combine it with another monster which is associated with this god—namely the sea monster Labbu which Tishpak vanquished in primeval time; see the myth of Labbu in P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* ("Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" VI 1 [Berlin, 1900]) pp. 44–47. Both monsters have serpent character, and both are connected with the sea (cf. muš-_huš-ab-ba-gim, "like a mušhuššu of the sea," British Museum, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia II* [London, 1866] Pl. 19, No. 2:15). Further literature on the mušhuššu may be found in Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien* (Sächs. Akad. der Wiss., philol.-hist. Klasse, *Abhandlungen* XLII, Nr. VI [1934]) pp. 48 and 55.

† The "exalted boat," m^á-gur₈ ma_h, was probably a boat of the type known from Assyrian reliefs, with high prow and stern. Since it is called "the mušhuššu-boat" we may conclude that prow and stern were carved as head and tail of a mušhuššu, for from Assyrian reliefs we know that prows and sterns of boats were often fashioned in the shape of animal heads and tails (see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I* [Heidelberg, 1920] p. 251; cf. his Abb. 63 and Tafel-Abb. 50). That Tishpak's boat on which he traveled to visit other deities was identified with the sea monster Labbu which, once vanquished by him, was now his servant, and that in harmony with this the boat was fashioned as a mušhuššu in Labbu's likeness, is so natural and logical that it needs no comment. On Tishpak's boat compare also date formulas Nos. 46, 89, and 101. [See now the discussion of m^á-gur₈ in Armas Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (Societas Orientalis Fennica, "Studia orientalia" VIII 4 [Helsingforsiae, 1939]) pp. 12–19.]

‡ Under M 31:12 of Pl. V.

Date Formula No. 84⁸¹

mu ús-sa m^á-gur₈ ma_h ba-dím

Year following (the year): "The exalted boat was made."

As. 31:T.589	M 32:15*	Bilalama palace
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* Under M 31:11 of Pl. V.

Date Formula No. 85⁸¹

m u e l a m ì - i m - z i

Year: "He roused* the Elamites."

As. 31:T.131	O 30:17	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.189	O 31:2	Bilalama palace
As. 31:T.193	P 31:2	Bilalama palace

* That is, he summoned the Elamites to his aid. Compare the similar phrase in the letter of Gimilsin to Puzurnumushda of Kazallu (George A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* [New Haven, 1918] Pl. XX, lines 24-25): i - b i - š è m a r - t u k u r - b i - t a e n - l i l á - t a ḥ - m u i m - m a - z i, "Now Enlil my helper has roused (summoned) the Amorites from their mountains."

Date Formula No. 86⁸¹

m u é ḫ i š k u r b a - d í m

Year: "The temple of Adad was constructed."

Var.: m u é ḫ i š k u r

As. 30:T.452	K 31:1	Bilalama building
As. 31:T.270 (Var.)	M 30:1	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.474 (Var.)	M 31:23	Bilalama level

Date Formula No. 87⁸¹

m u ḫ i š b a n š u r m a ḥ ḫ ḫ - g u l - l á b a - d í m

Year: "The exalted table of Ugulla* was made."

As. 31:T.286	L 31:2	Below Ibiqadad I palace
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* The name of this deity occurs with that of Tishpak in the introductory formula of a letter to the *ishakku* Urninmar (As. 30:T.220): ḫ i š n (EŠN-ZU) ḫ ḫ n i n - g a l l i - r a - m a - k à ḫ i š p a k ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ - g u l - l á u - m i m a - d u - t i m a r - k à - t i m š a - n a - t i m l i - b i - l u (! s i c) - k à i š - d a k u - s i - k à l u k i - n a, "May Sin and Ningal love you; may Tishpak and Ugulla convey to you many days, long years; may the foundation (lit., 'the two legs') of your throne be firm." The parallelism in this formula between Sin with his wife Ningal on one side and Tishpak with Ugulla on the other suggests clearly that Ugulla was Tishpak's wife, whose name has been unknown till now. This implication is further supported by a short list of deities found in Tell Asmar (As. 31:T.730) in which her name occurs directly after that of Tishpak. Of her cult in Eshnunna we know little except that expenditures of beer (As. 31:T.703) and oil (As. 30:T.471 and As. 31:T.310) "for Ugulla" appear in the accounts of the palace. In one case, As. 31:T.310, the oil was paid out "on the libation day, for (or 'of') Ugulla, at the end of the night" (u k a š - d é - a ḫ ḫ - g u l - l á á - g i ḫ - b a - a). In the local calendar a month derives its name from her: w a r a ḫ ḫ ḫ - g u l - l á (As. 30:T.235 and As. 31:T.391). The texts distinguish between ḫ ḫ - g u l - l á g á - n u n, "Ugulla of the g á - n u n" (As. 30:T.471), and é ḫ ḫ - g [u l - l á] š à u r u k i - k a, "the shrine of Ugulla in the city" (As. 30:T.708). Hence it is clear that she had at least two cult places, one in g á - n u n, "the bedchamber," which may have been a separate temple or perhaps only a part of Esikil, and one "in the city"—i.e., a small shrine built among the private houses in one of the residential quarters, like the public chapels in Ur (see *Antiquaries Journal* XI [1931] 368-72). On the word g á - n u n see the literature collected by Weidner in "Altorientalische Bibliothek" I 156, n. 3. On the table mentioned in the formula cf. Nos. 44 and 123. The name Ugulla is probably connected with the ḫ ḫ - g u l of ḫ ḫ - g u l - g á - g á: u t n i n m ū, "prayer" (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 455.84).

URNINMAR TO THE LAST OCCUPATION OF THE PALACE SITE

Date Formula No. 88 (Urninmar)⁸²

[m u] u r - ḫ i n - m a r k i e n [s i á š] - n u n k i a l a m u r u d u [m i n] - a - b a * b a - d í m

Year: "Urninmar, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made a pair of bronze statues."

As. 30:T.715	N 30:2	Urninmar palace
As. 30:T.521	O 30:7	In vertical drain

⁸² Other formulas which may belong to the reign of Urninmar have been tentatively assigned to Urningishzida; see Nos. 91-92.

This formula has been restored on the basis of two fragmentary year dates, As. 30:T.521 ([...] ur-^dnin-mar^{ki} PA-[...] ^{ki}alam urudu [...] -¹a-ba ba-dím) and As. 30:T.715 ([...]nin-mar^{ki} [...] -nun^{ki} [...] -a-ba ba-dím. On the restoration [min]-a-ba, for which there is no textual evidence, compare date formulas Nos. 74 and 108.

* On the meaning of min-a-ba, "pair," "two which belong together, which make a set," see *GSG*, § 307.

Date Formula No. 89 (Urningishzida)

mu má-gur_s maš-ta b-ba* ^dtišpak-ka ba-dím

Year: "The twin boats of Tishpak were made."

As. 30:T.538

O 30:7

In vertical drain

For dating see date formula No. 90.

* Does this mean two boats exactly alike, "sister-ships," or does it refer to a special type of boat? Other formulas dealing with Tishpak's boats are Nos. 46, 83, and 101.

Date Formula No. 90 (Urningishzida)

[mu ús-]sa má-gur_s maḥ [maš-ta b]-ba ba-dím

Year following (the year): "The exalted twin boats were made."

As. 30:T.560

O 30:7

In vertical drain

The tablet has a seal impression mentioning Urningishzida. This impression is not included in our selection of seal legends.

Date Formula No. 91 (Urningishzida)⁸³

mu [ur-^dnin-giš-zí-da] ensi [áš-nun-na^{ki}] ^{na}alam tuš-a ba-[dím]

Year: "Urningishzida, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made the seated stone statue."

As. 30:T.493*

O 30:7

In vertical drain

The Louvre possesses a number of stone statues from Eshnunna found in Susa, whither they had been carried as spoil by Shutruk-Nahhunte. The statues now bear inscriptions of the Elamite king stating that they are spoil from Eshnunna, while the original inscriptions have been chipped off. On one statue only, a standing one, enough traces of the original inscription remain to make it certain that it is a statue of Urningishzida. These traces may be restored as follows:

i a-[n]a	To	ii áš-nun-[n]a ^{k1}	of Eshnunna,
^[d] t[ⁱ špak]	Tishpak	[a-na]	to
[be]-l[ⁱ -šu]	his lord	[bīt] ^[d] t[ⁱ špak]	the temple of Tishpak
[ur- ^d nin-giš]-[z ¹ i]-[da]	has Urningishzida,	[a-na ba]-[la- ^t i ¹ -šu]	for his life
iša[k]	<i>ishakku</i>	ú-[še-ri]-ib	brought in (this statue).

Similar in style is a seated statue, so similar in fact that it must have been made by the same artist. It therefore seems likely that this seated statue also belongs to Urningishzida and that it is the very seated statue to which date formula No. 91 refers. Our thanks are due to Père Scheil for permission to publish the above transliteration of the inscription on the Louvre statue.

* Tablet As. 30:T.493 has a seal impression of the scribe Kuruza, servant of ur-^dnin-[...] (seal legend No. 37). The latter name has been restored as Urningishzida, but it might just as well be restored as Urninmar.

⁸³ Date formulas Nos. 91-92, which must belong either to Urninmar or to Urningishzida, have been assigned tentatively to the latter.

Date Formula No. 92 (Urningishzida)⁸³

mu ur-^d[nin-giš-zi-da] ensi [áš-nun-na^{ki}] ^{giš}alam* [... é ^dtīšpak-ka ù ^{urudu}alam é giš-zi ba-dím]

Year: "Urningishzida, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made the wooden image(?) of (i.e., in) the temple of Tishpak and the bronze statue"

Var.: mu ^{giš}alam [...] é ^dtīšpak-ka ù ^{urudu}alam 'é' [...] giš-zi ba-dím

As. 30:T.533† (Var.)

O 30:7

In vertical drain

As. 30:T.552

O 30:7

In vertical drain

* In both texts the sign seems to be ALAM, "statue," not NÁ, "bed," which one expects after the determinative GIŠ. It is not impossible, however, that the statue was of wood (cf. Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 249). The last part of the formula, which is preserved on As. 30:T.533 only, should possibly be restored as ù ^{urudu}alam 'é' (?) [^dnin]-giš-zi-(da) ba-dím, "and the bronze statue in (lit., 'of') the temple of Ningishzida was made."

† Tablet As. 30:T.533 bears a seal impression (not included in our selection of seal legends) on which ur-^dnin-giš-zi-da] or ur-^dnin-m[a^r^{ki}] can be deciphered. It is therefore not certain to which of the two this formula belongs.

Date Formula No. 93 (Ibiqadad I)

mu i-bi-iq-^dada d

Year: "Ibiqadad (became king)."

As. 30:T.66*

O 29:7

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 30:T.122*

O 30:1

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 31:T.71

P 32:9

Houses under Southern Building

* The provenience of these tablets makes it likely that the Ibiqadad in question is Ibiqadad I; see date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 94 (Ibiqadad I)

mu i-bi-iq-[^dada d] ^{urudu}apin [...] 'kr' (?) é ^dtīšpak ba-dím ù SA(?) -?- ra (?) [...] 'kr' (?) [...]

Year: "Ibiqadad made the bronze plow of the temple of Tishpak and"

Var. 1: mu ^{urudu}apin é ^dtīšpak-ka ba-dím

Var. 2: mu ^{urudu}apin ^dtīšpak-ka

Var. 3: mu ^{urudu}apin ^dtīšpak

Var. 4: mu ^{urudu}apin

As. 30:T.273* (Var. 4)

M 30:2

Top layer†

As. 30:T.622 (Var. 3)

N 30:6

Ibiqadad I palace

As. 30:T.549 (Var. 1)

O 30:7

In vertical drain

As. 30:T.105 (Var. 4)

P 29:6

Top layer† (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 30:T.107 (Var. 2)

P 29:6

Top layer† (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 31:T.164

O 33:10

Houses under Southern Building

The plow as an attribute of Tishpak shows still another facet of the versatile character of the god (cf. *OIC* No. 13, p. 53). That a god of thunderstorms and lightning should also become the protector of plowing and sowing is, however, not strange in an agricultural community such as Eshnunna, more especially since in Babylonia it is the violent rainstorms of the spring which give the signal for plowing and sowing. [Alternatively, Tishpak's coalescence with a Sumerian fertility god might have obtained him this attribute. See *Iraq* I (1934) 16 f.—H.F.] The plow as a cult object is not peculiar to Eshnunna; in Ekur in Nippur, also, there was a plow (H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, No. 5501 ii 23; *Sum. Lex.*, No. 56.2), and the "golden plow of Ezida" is mentioned in a hymn (H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre* II [Paris, 1930] No. 53). On boundary stones the plow figures as the symbol of Geshtinanna (Unger in *ERV* IV 437).

* The provenience of As. 30:T.273 suggests that the Ibiqadad in question is Ibiqadad I.

† See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Date Formula No. 95 (Ibiqadad I?)

šanat i-bi-iq-^dadad parakkē kilallē kaspim(BÁRA TAB-BA KÛ-BABBAR) *a-na bīti ^dtišpak ú-še-ri-bu*
Year when Ibiqadad brought a pair of silver *parakku*'s* into the temple of Tishpak.

As. 30:T.240

O 30:7

In vertical drain

It is uncertain whether this formula belongs to Ibiqadad I or to Ibiqadad II.

* *Parakku* means "base" (for a throne or statue), "dais" (shown by Schott in ZA XL [1931] 19–23; see the literature quoted there and also Landsberger in ZA XLI 292–96). The "pair of *parakku*'s" mentioned in the formula were probably not two separate bases; it is more likely that one of them was smaller than the other and calculated to stand on top of the larger one so as to make a two-tiered dais. This arrangement of a two-tiered *parakku* is known from Assyrian temples; and our nearest parallel, the clay *parakku* in Ituria's temple, had this arrangement (see p. 16).

Date Formula No. 96 (Abdierah)⁸⁴

šanat ab-di-a-ra-aḥ ^damurru(MAR-TU)-*ì-lí ri-di-šu i-pu-šu*
Year when Abdierah made Amurruili his successor.

As. 30:T.234

O 30:7

In vertical drain

Date Formula No. 97 (Shiqlanum)⁸⁴

mu ší-iq-la-nu-um ba-úš
Year: "Shiqlanum died."

As. 30:T.231

O 30:7

In vertical drain

Date Formula No. 98 (Sharria)

mu šar-ri-ia ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} ^{gi}šgu-za bi-tuš*
Year: "Sharria, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, ascended the throne."

Var.: *mu šar-ri-ia*

As. 30:T.228

N 32:1

Street south of palace at ca. 33.70

As. 30:T.624

O 30:6

Ibiqadad I palace

As. 30:T.275

P 30

Top layer†

As. 31:T.103 (Var.)

P 32:2

Houses under Southern Building

* See date formula No. 70, n. ‡.

† See seal legend No. 1, n. *.

Date Formula No. 99 (Sharria)

*mu šar-ri-ia ^{urudu}alam uš....-ni(?)**
Year: "Sharria the bronze statue"

As. 30:T.357

O 31:1

Azuzum or Urninmar level

* After uš the tablet is damaged. It is possible that we should read *urudu*alam ús-¹sa¹ ¹d¹[N.], "the bronze statue (standing) next to (the statue of) the god N."; cf. date formula No. 104.

Date Formula No. 100 (Belakum)

mu be-la-[kum] ensi áš-nun-[na^{ki}] ^{gi}šgu-za bi-[tuš]*
Year: "Belakum, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, ascended the throne."

As. 30:T.496

O 30:7

In vertical drain

* See date formula No. 70, n. ‡.

⁸⁴ On this ruler see above, pp. 120 f., and *OIC* No. 13, pp. 49 f.

Date Formula No. 101 (Belakum)

mu be-la-kum ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} má-gur_s-maḥ si-⟨ni⟩ maš-tab-ba
ba 4tišpak-ka ba-dím

Year: "Belakum, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, made the two 'horns' (var., two golden 'horns') of the exalted boat of Tishpak."*

Var. 1: mu má-gur_s-maḥ si maš-tab-ba

Var. 2: mu be-la-kum si-ni maš-tab-ba guškin

Var. 3: mu si-ni maš-tab-ba guškin

Var. 4: mu si-ni maš-tab-ba

As. 30:T.603 (Var. 1)	N 31:2	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.78 (Var. 3)	O 29:6†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.32 (Var. 2)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.34 (Var. 4)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.38 (Var. 4)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.63 (Var. 3)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.4 (Var. 3)	O 30:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.48 (Var. 3)	O 30:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.79 (Var. 4)	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.81 (Var. 3)	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.83† (Var. 4)	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.90 (Var. 4)	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.22 (Var. 3)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.53 (Var. 3)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.112 (Var. 2)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.569	O 30:7	In vertical drain
As. 30:T.571	O 30:7	In vertical drain

* The two "horns" of a boat are prow and stern according to Deimel, *Šum. Lex.*, No. 112.96; but F. Delitzsch, *Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien* (Stuttgart, 1910) p. 45, n. 8, proposes "Segelstange, Raa" (i.e., yards), which is accepted by H. Zimmern in *K. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist. Klasse, Berichte über die Verhandlungen* LXVIII 5 (1916) p. 43. In the translation offered above it has been assumed that má-gur_s-maḥ si-ni maš-tab-ba stands for the more correct má-gur_s-maḥ-a(k) si-ni maš-tab-ba, "the two horns of the exalted boat." The omission of the genitive element after an anticipatory genitive is usual in this period; see *GSG*, § 377. That the personal -ni is used (si-ni) instead of the impersonal -bi is probably because the holy ship of Tishpak was considered a personal being, perhaps Labbu; cf. date formula No. 83, n. *. Another possible reading would be má-gur_s-maḥ-si-zal-maš-tab-ba, "the exalted boat with the two shining 'horns.'" [On si, prow or stern of a boat, see now Salonen, *op. cit.* pp. 77-79.]

† This locus was among confused foundations not drawn on the plans published in this volume. These foundations, found directly under the surface, are difficult to date with certainty (cf. p. 69); but from the Urmingishzida pit, which seems to belong with them, and from a doorsill of Urninmar bricks found in O 29:7 it seems probable that the stratum dates from just after the time of Urninmar (cf. p. 120). Note also that a seal impression of Urninmar and three of Ibiqadad I were found in this stratum (seal legends Nos. 34 and 40). As it is a top layer, however, we must reckon with the possibility that the buildings may have been ruined and used as a dump for some time after they had been abandoned; cf. seal legend No. 1, n. *.

‡ Bears seal legend No. 38.

Date Formula No. 102 (Belakum)

mu be-la-kum 4inanna ki-ti ba-dím

Year: "Belakum made (the statue of) Inanna of Kiti."*

Var.: mu 4inanna ki-ti

As. 30:T.29	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.31 (Var.)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.75	O 30:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.115†	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* That Kiti was a locality is proved by the writing *ki-ti^{ki}* found in As. 30:T.92 and T.351, tablets from the palace. It was probably a small town near Eshnunna. As. 30:T.92 reads: 4(?) *si-la i-giš zur-zur⁷ ki-ti^{ki}-šè u₄ bi-la-la-ma i-gin-na-a*, "4 sila (of) oil for sacrifices in Kiti on the day Bilalama went (away)"; and As. 30:T.351 reads: 4 *si-la i-giš ki-ti^{ki} šéš-dè*, "4 sila (of) oil (to) Kiti for anointing purposes." Moreover, Inanna the deity of Kiti is mentioned in palace texts (e.g. As. 30:T.25, T.30, and T.46; As. 31:T.326). Tablet As. 30:T.30, which was found in O 29:7 together with tablets dated with formula No. 100, mentions offerings *igi 'inanna ki-ti u₄ é-gal-la tu-ra*, "in front of Inanna of Kiti on the 'day of entering the palace,'" but the details stating of what they consisted are broken away. A "shrine of Inanna of Kiti" (*é 'inanna ki-ti*) is mentioned higher up in the same tablet. Inanna of Kiti is mentioned in As. 31:T.694 also: $\frac{1}{2}$ *kaš zur-zur⁷ é-gal 'inanna ki-ti^{ki}*, " $\frac{1}{2}$ (gur of) beer, sacrifices; (to?) the palace (for) Inanna of Kiti." This tablet dates from the period before Bilalama. A large temple dedicated to Inanna of Kiti was excavated in Ishchālī during the seasons 1934/35 and 1935/36; for a preliminary report see *OIC* No. 20.

† See No. 101, n. †.

‡ Bears seal legend No. 39.

Date Formula No. 103 (Belakum)

mu ús-sa 'inanna ki-ti

Year following (the year): "Inanna of Kiti."

As. 30:T.123

O 30:3*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* See No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 104 (Belakum)

mu be-la-kum urudalam á 'tišpak-ka

Year: "Belakum <...ed> the bronze statue next to Tishpak."

As. 30:T.10

O 30:4*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

As. 31:T.57

Dump from Southern
Building†

* See No. 101, n. †.

† From the level of the private houses.

Date Formula No. 105 (Belakum)

mu be-la-kum [...] la an na [...] 'tišpa]k-ka

Year: "Belakum of Tishpak."

As. 30:T.86

O 29:6*

Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* See No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 106 (Belakum)

šanat be-la-kum [...] -tum ú-še-ri-bu

Year when Belakum brought in

As. 30:T.238

O 30:7

In vertical drain

Date Formula No. 107 (Waradsa)

mu warad-sà ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} gišgu-za bi-tuš-a*

Year when Waradsa, *ishakku* of Eshnunna, ascended the throne.

Var.: *mu warad-sà ensi áš-nun-na^{ki} gišgu-za i-tuš-a*

As. 30:T.233 (Var.)

O 30:7

In vertical drain

As. 30:T.558

O 30:7

In vertical drain

* See No. 70, n. †.

Date Formula No. 108 (Waradsa)

mu ^{gi}g díb-ba min-^a-[b]a ^zú-am-siⁱ kù-ga [^dtišpak-ka b]a-dím

Year: "Tishpak's holy pair of ivory dibba-doors* was made."

Var. 1: mu warad-sà ^{gi}g díb-ba ^d[tišpak-ka ba-dím]

Var. 2: mu ^{gi}g díb-ba ^dtišpak-ka ba-dím

Var. 3: mu ^{gi}g díb-ba ^dtišpak-ka

Var. 4: mu ^{gi}g díb-ba min-a-ba

As. 30:T.211	M 31:11	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.202 (Var. 1)	M 32:4	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.43 (Var. 2)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.44 (Var. 3)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.55 (Var. 4)	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.62 (Var. 2)	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* The phrase ^{gi}g díb-ba, Akkadian *dalat dippi* (see *Šum. Lex.*, No. 80.25), denotes a certain kind of door, but its exact meaning is unknown. The related term ^{gi}g díb-dib-ba: *dalat tamḫiṣi* (*loc. cit.*) is just as obscure; the usual translation "trap door" is almost certain to be wrong.

† Cf. No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 109 (Waradsa)

mu ^{gi}š u-nir ^mwarad-sà ^dtišpak-ka ba-dím

Year: "The Waradsa emblem* of Tishpak was made."

As. 30:T.499	O 30:7	In vertical drain
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* The name "Waradsa emblem" suggests that it was made by the *ishakku* Waradsa and called after him to distinguish it from the other emblems of Tishpak. For these see date formulas Nos. 58, 76, and 116, and cf. No. 75.

Date Formula No. 110 (Ibalpiel I)⁸⁵

mu i-ba-al-pi-el ^{gi}g u-za bi*-tuš-a

Year when Ibalpiel ascended the throne.

Var.: mu i-ba-al-pi-el

As. 30:T.41	O 29:7†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.114	O 30:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.58 (Var.)	P 29:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* See date formula No. 70, n. †.

† See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 111 (Ibalpiel I)⁸⁵

[mu i-ba-al-pi-el ^{gi}g] u-za ka-am-si [guškin gar-ra] ^dtišpak ba-dím

Year: "Ibalpiel made the ivory throne of Tishpak which is inlaid with gold."

As. 30:T.498	O 30:7	In vertical drain
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This formula has been restored from Lutz, *Legal and Economical Documents from Ashjály*, No. 36:23 f.

⁸⁵ The date formulas in which a ruler Ibalpiel is mentioned, Nos. 110-12, can all be assigned with some probability to Ibalpiel I. Two of the three tablets dated by No. 110 were found together with tablets dated to the reign of Belakum, which suggests that the Ibalpiel of No. 110 is Ibalpiel I, a successor of Belakum. Nos. 111-12 came from the cache found in a vertical pottery drain in O 30:7. The tablets found there refer to practically all the rulers from Urninmar down to Waradsa as well as to an Ibalpiel. Since neither Naramsin nor Dadusha is mentioned, it seems probable that the cache represents a period antedating those rulers; the Ibalpiel mentioned would accordingly be Ibalpiel I.

Date Formula No. 112 (Ibalpiel I)⁸⁵

m u ʾi - b a - a l' - [p i - e l] b a - ú š

Year: "Ibalpiel died."

As. 30:T.235

O 30:7

In vertical drain

Date Formula No. 113⁸⁶*šanat su-mu-a-bu-um a-na dēr^{ki} i-tà-ar-du*

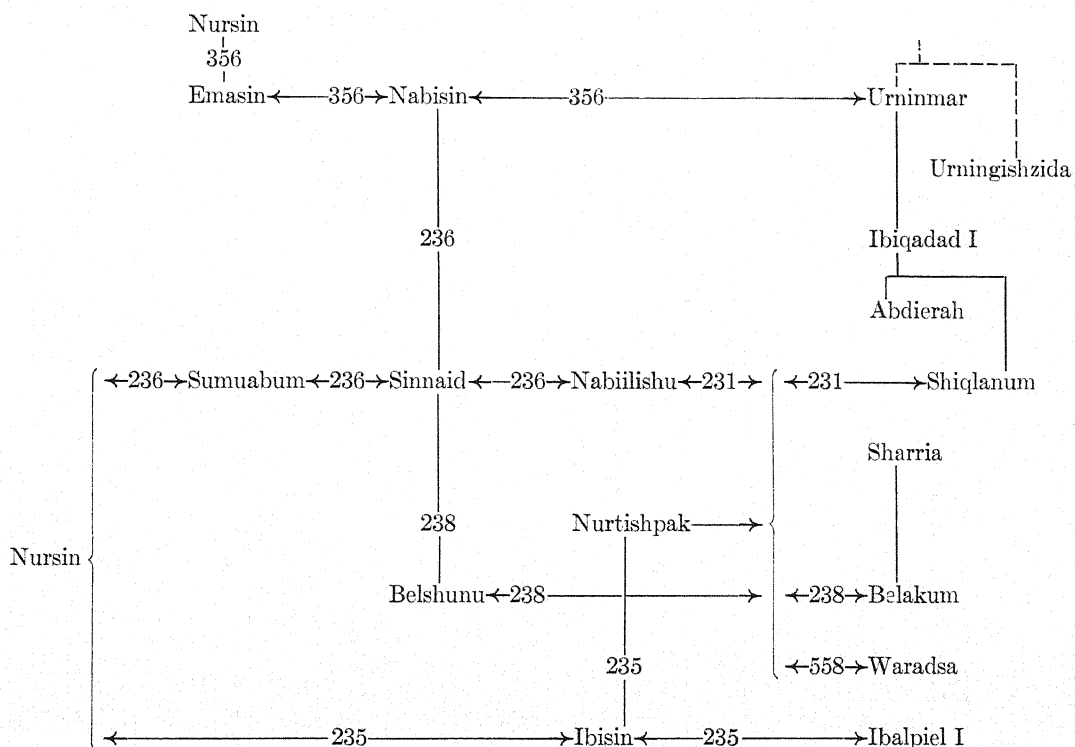
Year when Sumuabum was driven away to Der.

As. 30:T.236

O 30:7

In vertical drain

The date of this formula seems to be somewhere around the time of Shiqianum, as may be seen by a comparison of the personal names on As. 30:T.236 with those of other tablets of the same archive. In the accompanying table arrows indicate that the names connected are mentioned on the same tablet. The tablets, all found in 1930, are quoted by their individual serial numbers only.



Before we consider our special point, the date of the Sumuabum formula on As. 30:T.236, we should note the easy agreement between the list of rulers at which we have arrived earlier in this chapter and the genealogies and synchronisms of private individuals which these tablets furnish. This agreement constitutes a welcome corroboration of our results. As for the date of the formula mentioning Sumuabum, it will be noted that Sumuabum was contemporaneous with Sinnaid, who must have lived at approximately the time of Shiqianum, since Sinnaid's father, Nabisin, was contemporaneous with Urninmar, and his son Belshunu was contemporaneous with Belakum. This is corroborated by the fact that both Sumuabum and Sinnaid were contemporaneous with a certain Nabilishu who, as shown by the tablet As. 30:T.231, lived at the time of Shiqianum. Since Sumuabum must have been a person of political importance to be mentioned in a date formula, and since he must have flourished at approximately the same time as Sumuabum of Babylon (see the synchronism between Sumuabum of Babylon and Shiqianum's

⁸⁵ Date formulas Nos. 113-28 cannot be assigned to specific years, but they are known to belong to the reign of Urninmar or later.

brother, Abdierah, discussed on pp. 122 f.), it is tempting to identify him with the latter. However, the statement of the formula—that "Sumuabum was driven away (or just 'sent away'?) to Der"—is not easy to associate with the figure of Sumuabum of Babylon; and an identification would be premature as long as we cannot establish a connection of Sumuabum of Babylon with Der which would explain the formula in a satisfactory manner.

Date Formula No. 114⁸⁶

'm u m a¹ - d [a](?) a š - n a - k u m ù t a r - 'n i¹ - i p^{ki} b a - a n - 'd í b¹

Year: "He seized the land of Ashnakum* and Tarnip."*

Var.: m u a š - n a - k u m^{ki}

As. 30:T.126	P 30:1†	Ibalpiel I level
As. 30:T.131 (Var.)	P 30:1†	Ibalpiel I level
As. 30:T.132 (Var.)	P 30:1†	Ibalpiel I level

* These names are unknown to me. [Ashnakum has now appeared on tablets from Maeri; see e.g. Dossin in *Syria* XIX (1938) 115 and 123. Dossin places it in "la Mésopotamie du Nord" (p. 115).]

† In debris around the well.

Date Formula No. 115⁸⁶

m u SIG₇-IGI-ig z a b a r k á - u g u l a - n a r ^dt i š p a k - k a b a - d í m

Year: "The bronze arch* of the 'gate of the benchers of the singers' of Tishpak was made."

Var 1: m u SIG₇-IGI-ig ù é š D A (?) k ù - b a b b a r †

Var. 2: m u SIG₇-IGI-ig z a b a r k á - u g u l a - n a r

Var. 3: m u SIG₇-IGI-ig z a b a r ^dt i š p a k - k a b a - d í m

Var. 4: m u SIG₇-IGI-ig z a b a r

Var. 5: m u SIG₇-IGI-ig ^dt i š p a k

As. 30:T.30	O 29:7‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.3 (Var. 2)	O 30:2‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.98 (Var. 3)	O 30:3‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.8 (Var. 5)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.9 (Var. 4)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.12 (Var. 1)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.14 (Var. 4)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.15 (Var. 4)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.16 (Var. 5)	O 30:4‡	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* SIG₇-IGI means "eyebrow"; see F. R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier* (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, "Mitteilungen" XL 2 [1935]) pp. 22 f., n. 1. SIG₇-IGI-ig, "eyebrow of the door," can obviously only mean the arch above the door, which has the shape of an eyebrow. Since the line of the arch was—at least in Assyrian times—often stressed by means of an ornamental band (numerous examples may be found in Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* [Paris, 1867-70]), the bronze "eyebrow" mentioned here may be such a band. Compare also Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pa., 1924) No. 11:22-23: k á - m a ḥ k á - g a l k á - s i l i m - m a ḥ a r - s a g - g a l a m - m a k á š e - n u - k u d - d u s ù - d u - á g k ù - m e - a s i g - i g i - b a š e - i r - k a - a n m u - n i - i n - d u g , "The exalted gate, the great gate, the Silimma-gate of Hursaggalamma, the . . . gate—pure diamonds(?) he placed as ornament upon its arch (or 'upon their arches')."

† Year: "The arch and the band(?) of silver."

‡ See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 116⁸⁶

m u ^{giš}š u - n i r u ₄ - s a r g u š k i n k ù - b a b b a r g a r - r a ^dt i š p a k - k a b a - d í m

Year: "Tishpak's golden crescent-shaped emblem* inlaid with silver was made."

Var.: m u ^{giš}š u - n i r k ù - b a b b a r ^dt i š p a k - k a b a - d í m

As. 30:T.59	O 30:3†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.21 (Var.)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.110 (Var.)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.528	O 30:7	In vertical drain

* Cf. *OIC* No. 13, p. 53. Other emblems of Tishpak are mentioned in date formulas Nos. 58, 76, and 109; cf. also No. 75.

† See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 117⁸⁶

mu ús-sa ^{giš}ú¹-[n i]r ba-dím

Year following (the year): "The emblem was made."

As. 31:T.124	Q 33:12	Houses below Southern Building
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Date Formula No. 118⁸⁶

mu ^{id}na-bi-^d[tišpak] in-ba-a[l] ù ^{giš}gu-za [ma h] ^den-líl-lá ba-d [ím]

Year: "He dug the Nabitishpak canal,* and the exalted throne of Enlil was made."

Var.: mu ^{id}na-bi-^dtišpak

As. 30:T.145 (Var.)	M 31:11	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.35 (Var.)	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 30:T.89	O 30:4†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)

* Cf. date formula No. 60, n. *.

† See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 119⁸⁶

mu ^{urudu}d^dur-^ùl¹ [é]-^dtišpak¹(?)†-ka(?) ba-dím

Year: "The bronze (image of the) god (of the) Turnat‡ of (i.e., in) the temple of Tishpak(?) was made."

As. 30:T.190	M 31:12	Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.207	M 31:12	Ibalpiel I palace

Both texts are broken and also carelessly written. As. 30:T.207 has mu ^{urudu}d^dur¹ ki¹B¹ [...]-¹ka¹(?) ba-dím. As. 30:T.190 has mu ^{urudu}d^dur(?)^{*} ki[B....].

* The sign ^dur is written so cursorily that it looks like B.

† The tentative restoration ^dtišpak¹ seems possible in view of the remnants of signs left. Compare the similar wording in other formulas, e.g. Nos. 82, 92, and 120.

‡ The canal on which Eshnunna was situated must have drawn its water from the Turnat River, the present Diyālā. It is therefore natural that the god of this river should be worshiped in Eshnunna, for on the Diyālā depended the fertility of the whole region. The other great river of the district, the Taban, also was worshiped; see date formula No. 77.

Date Formula No. 120⁸⁶

mu GIL guškin é ^dtišpak-ka ba-dím

Year: "The golden ring* of (i.e., in) the temple of Tishpak was made."

- Var. 1: mu GIL guškin ^dtišpak-ka ba-dím
 Var. 2: mu GIL guškin ^dtišpak
 Var. 3: mu GIL guškin

As. 30:T.646	N 30:6	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.102 (Var. 2)	O 30:6	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.636 (Var. 1)	area of P 30:2†	Top layer (Ibiqadad I-Ibalpiel I)
As. 31:T.113 (Var. 3)	Q 33:3	Houses below Southern Building

* GIL, *kippatu*, "circle," "ring" (*Šum. Lex.*, No. 67.8). This golden ring of the temple of Tishpak must be a ring of the type often represented as held in the hand of a god. Another Akkadian term for this object was *ganum* (cf. Poebel in *OLZ* XXV [1922] 508 f.).

† See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 121⁸⁶

mu ^{gi}gu-za RA NITAḥ a b-ba me-luḥ-ḥa guškin gar-ra

Year: "The . . . throne* of Ethiopian(?) (and?) a b b a-wood inlaid with gold <was made>."

Var.: mu ^{gi}gu-za RA NITAḥ a b-ba me-luḥ-ḥa

As. 30:T.92	O 30:2†	Top layer
As. 30:T.80	O 30:3†	Top layer
As. 30:T.239 (Var.)	O 30:7	In vertical drain

* For other formulas referring to thrones see Nos. 71, 111, and 118; cf. No. 122.

† See date formula No. 101, n. †.

Date Formula No. 122⁸⁶

mu ^{na}gu-za kaskal za-gín

Year: "The stone (model of a) sedan chair of lapis lazuli <was made>."

As. 30:T.198	M 31:12	Ibalpiel I palace
As. 30:T.152	N 31:5	Ibiqadad I palace

Date Formula No. 123⁸⁶

mu baṣur kù-babbar

Year: "The silver table* <was made>."

As. 30:T.191	M 31:9	Ibiqadad I palace
As. 30:T.193	M 31:9	Ibiqadad I palace

* Cf. the other formulas dealing with tables, Nos. 44 and 87.

Date Formula No. 124⁸⁶

mu ḥa-zi-in ^{na}za-gín

Year: "The ax of lapis lazuli* <was made>."

As. 30:T.24	P 29:1	Ibiqadad I building
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* This was obviously a votive object. Such votive axes of lapis lazuli have been found.

Date Formula No. 125⁸⁶

šanat urudušalmam ša-i-dam* a-bi-ma-tár(?) bīt dšīn(EN-ZU) ú-še-ri-bu

Year when Abimatar(?)† brought a ruddy copper statue into the temple of Sin.

As. 30:T.564

O 30:7

In vertical drain

The order object-subject-verb is frequently found in date formulas of our region (see e.g. the formulas from Ishchālī of Dadusha and Ibalpiel quoted on p. 129).

* Šaidu from šādu, "to glow," "to shine with a reddish color like copper or gold" (see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 564; P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* ["Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" VI 1 (Berlin, 1900)] p. 390), would seem to mean "ruddy" (like copper or reddish gold). This explains how a word listed as a synonym of *hurāšu*, "gold," in W. von Soden, *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrier in den Berliner Museen II* (Berlin, 1933) 1 xv 16, can also, as here, serve to describe a copper image. The same duality is found in Arabic صَاد, "Kupfer, Erz," and صَيْدَانٌ, "Erz, Gold," quoted by Jensen, *loc. cit.*

† The last sign of the name (perhaps *la*?) is difficult to identify. A ruler of Eshnunna by the name of Abima. . . . is otherwise completely unknown, so possibly the date formula belongs not to Eshnunna but to some other small kingdom in the neighborhood.

Date Formula No. 126⁸⁶

mu te-di-qum guškin dtišpak

Year: "The golden garment* of Tishpak <was . . . ed>."

Var.: mu te-di-qum guškin

As. 30:T.99 (Var.)

N. of N 30:5

Directly below surface

As. 30:T.101 (Var.)

N. of N 30:5

Directly below surface

As. 30:T.23

P 29:1

Ibiquadad I building

* For another example of a "golden garment" for a god's statue see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I* 272.

Date Formula No. 127⁸⁶

mu é dutu ba-dím

Year: "The temple of Shamash was built."

As. 30:T.40

P 29:1

Ibiquadad I building

Date Formula No. 128⁸⁶

mu BIL(?) -TUM(?) -MEŠ

Year: ""

As. 30:T.128

P 30:1*

Ibiquadad I building

As. 30:T.130

P 30:1*

Ibiquadad I building

As. 30:T.138

P 30:1*

Ibiquadad I building

* In debris around the well.

KING LIST AND SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ESHNUNNA FROM THE
THIRD DYNASTY OF UR TO HAMMURABI⁸⁷

Date B.C.	Ruler of Eshnunna	Events
PERIOD OF DOMINATION OF UR III		
2345		Eshnunna in the hands of Shulgi of Ur (2374–2327 B.C.) from the 30th year of that ruler at the latest (date formula No. 1). Shulgi rebuilds Esikil for Tishpak-Ninazu. ⁸⁸
2344	Urguedinna	Attested as <i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna in the 31st year of Shulgi (see date formula No. 2, n. *).
2329	Bamu	Attested as <i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna in the 46th year of Shulgi (see date formula No. 18, n. *).
2328	Kallamu	Attested as <i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna in the 47th year of Shulgi (<i>ibid.</i>); transferred to Eshnunna from Kazallu, where he had been <i>ishakku</i> (<i>ibid.</i>). Governs Eshnunna to at least 9th year of Bursin ⁸⁹ (2326–2318).
2318		
2309	Ituria	Attested as <i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna (see bldg. inscr. No. 1, n. †) from the 9th year of Gimilsin (2317–2309). Builds the Gimilsin Temple for the cult of his divine overlord (bldg. inscr. No. 1).
2308		He is last mentioned (<i>ibid.</i> n. †) in the 1st year of Ibisin (2308–2284).
PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE		
	Ilushuilia	Eshnunna became independent some time after the 2d year of Ibisin (p. 159). Local year dates and month names were introduced. Each ruler now styled himself “servant of Tishpak” instead of servant of the king of Ur. Son of Ituria (seal legend No. 5). Takes the title “mighty king, king of the land of Warum” (seal legends Nos. 6 and 8). Further titles “king of the four quarters” (seal legend No. 6) and “beloved of Belatteraban and Belatsuhñir” (seal legends Nos. 6 and 8) suggest extensive domination, especially northward toward Kirkuk (cf. seal legend No. 6, note*). Builds palace adjoining Gimilsin Temple (p. 27).
	Nurahum	Victorious war with Subartu(?) (date formula No. 42). Secularizes palace chapel (p. 42).
	Kirikiri	At some time during the period from Ilushuilia to Kirikiri a war in the district near the mouth of the Diyālā resulted in the capture of the city Tutub (Kha-fājah D) (date formula No. 53). Amorite tribes—possibly in some kind of understanding with Eshnunna—sacked a place called “The Field of Ibisin” (date formula No. 55). The city wall of Eshnunna was rebuilt (date formula No. 56). The city Nabitishpak was built (date formula No. 60), and a city called the “new city” was founded (date formula No. 51).

⁸⁷ The absolute dates are based on the dates for the 1st dynasty of Babylon and for the fall of the 3d dynasty of Ur calculated by Fotheringham and Schoch, which agree with the data from the texts; see my study of the chronology in AS No. 11.

⁸⁸ AS No. 6, pp. 20–28. ⁸⁹ C. E. Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty* (YOSB IV [1919]) No. 61:5.

Date B.C.	Ruler of Eshnunna	Events
PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE— <i>Continued</i>		
ca. 2250	Bilalama	Son of Kirikiri (seal legend No. 12). Peaceful intercourse with Shuilishu of Isin (2264–2255) at approximately this time(?) (see seal legend No. 25). Gains a victory over Amorite tribes (date formula No. 70). At other times he has friendly relations with the Amorites, through whom he gains control over the city Ishur (see date formula No. 65, n. *), which the Amorites had captured (date formula No. 64). In a similar manner, perhaps, he gains control of the cities K á - ⁱ - b a - u m, which the Amorites had sacked (date formulas Nos. 64–66), and B à d - b a r ^{ki} , both of which he rebuilds (date formula No. 69). Has diplomatic relations with Anumutabil of Der. ⁹⁰ His daughter Mekubi is married to Tanruhuratir of Elam. ⁹¹ Rebuilds Esikil for Tishpak (bldg. inscr. No. 4 and date formula No. 62). Rebuilds palace and adapts Gimilsin Temple to secular use (p. 47).
	Isharramashu	Palace destroyed by fire, perhaps due to sack of the city by Anumutabil of Der. The conquest of Babylon by Ilushuma of Assyria ⁹² must have occurred at about this time. ⁹³
	Uşurawasu	May be identical with Anumutabil's envoy of that name mentioned in tablet As. 30:T.222. ⁹⁴
	Azuzum	"Palace of Three Rulers" was begun by Uşurawasu or by Isharramashu (p. 63). Builds smaller government quarters at a site south of the palace. ⁹⁵
ca. 2200	Urninmar	In the period from Bilalama to Urninmar occurred the submission of the Amorite tribes to Eshnunna, as mentioned in date formula No. 81. The city Šil-tishpak was built (date formulas Nos. 78–79), a temple for the god Adad was built (date formula No. 86), and the wall of Esikil was constructed (date formula No. 80). Diplomatic relations with Gungunum of Larsa may have existed at this time. ^{95a} First reconstructs the Palace of Three Rulers, then renews the palace entirely (p. 63).

⁹⁰ This is mentioned in As. 31:T.295.

⁹¹ SAK, p. 180, XIX 3.

⁹² See Weidner in ZA XLIII 114–23.

⁹³ According to Shalmaneser I (KAHI I, No. 13 ii 32 ff.; LAR I, § 119) Shamshiadad I, who as we have seen was mentioned in the 10th year of Hammurabi (i.e., in 2058 B.C.; see p. 125), came to power 159 years after Erishu, son of Ilushuma. Therefore Erishu must have flourished ca. 2220 B.C. and Ilushuma ca. 2230 B.C.

⁹⁴ OIC No. 13, pp. 32 f., and p. 5 above.

⁹⁵ This building was excavated in the seasons 1933/34 and 1934/35. It will be published in a later volume.

^{95a} Tablet As. 30:T.600, found in the street at N 32:1, level 32.50, mentions a l ú k u - u n - k u - n ú, "man of Kunkunu." This Kunkunu can hardly be other than the well known Gungunum of Larsa. The find-spot of this tablet, almost a meter below a tablet of Sharria in the same locus, suggests that it should be dated to approximately the time of Urninmar.

Date B.C.	Ruler of Eshnunna	Events
PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE— <i>Continued</i>		
ca. 2150	Urningishzida Ibiqadad I	Son of Urninmar (seal legend No. 40). Rebuilds and enlarges palace (p. 77).
	Abdierah	Son of Ibiqadad I (pp. 120 f.). Contemporary of Sumuabum of Babylon, 2169–2156 (p. 123). Defeated and taken captive in an unsuccessful war with Yawium of Kish (<i>ibid.</i>). The territory at the mouth of the Diyālā is lost (<i>ibid.</i>). Abdierah appointed Amurruili as his successor (date formula No. 96), but there is no evidence that the latter ever came to reign.
	Shiqlanum	Son of Ibiqadad I and brother of Abdierah (pp. 120 f.)? During the time of Shiqlanum and Sharria “local” rulers controlled Tutub (Khafājah D). One of these, Hammidashur, was contemporaneous with Sumu-lael of Babylon, 2155–2120 (p. 124).
	Sharria Belakum	Son of Sharria (p. 120). Restores Eshnunna’s power. Tutub (Khafājah D) is captured. ⁹⁶ Rival states at this period are Akkad, Yamutbal, Numhim, and Idamaraz. ⁹⁷
	Waradsa	Perhaps a usurper (p. 120). Continues restoration. Conquers Ishur, ⁹⁸ a city once held by Bilalama (see date formula No. 65, n. *). A raid into Eshnunna by Siniddinam of Larsa (2124–2119) should very probably be dated to this reign. ⁹⁹
ca. 2100	Ibalpiel I	Rebuilds palace (pp. 77 f.). To the period from Belakum to Ibiqadad II belongs the capture of the cities Neribtum ¹⁰⁰ (situated near Khafājah; see p. 123, n. 26), Yakunum, ¹⁰⁰ and Karahar ¹⁰⁰ (probably situated north of the Diyālā). The city wall of Eshnunna was repaired. ¹⁰⁰ To the period from Urninmar to Ibiqadad II belong the capture of the cities Ashnakum and Tarnip (date formula No. 114), the digging of the Nabitishpak canal (date formula No. 118), and the building of a temple for Shamash (date formula No. 127).

⁹⁵ According to a date formula from the cache of tablets found in Trench B at Tell Asmar. Cf. p. 123, n. 24.

⁹⁷ These states are mentioned—and in this order—on tablet As. 30:T.575, which constitutes an oath of allegiance to Belakum.

⁹⁸ According to the date formula on Kh. 35:T.45: *šanat i-šur^{ki} warad-sà iṣ-‘ba-tu’*, “Year when Waradsa captured Ishur.”

⁹⁹ Date formula: *m u m a - d a ‘á š l - n u n ^{ki} b a - ḫ u l*, “Year: ‘The land of Eshnunna was sacked’”; see Keiser, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan III* (New York, 1914) No. 17. The tablet has seal impressions of servants of Nuradad of Larsa and of his son Siniddinam, so it must date from the latter’s reign; see Ungnad in *RLA* II 159, year [181]. The same date appears on texts in the Yale collection, where it is written *m u m a - d a è š - n u n - n a ^{ki} b a - ḫ u l*; see Keiser, *op. cit.* p. 15, and Ferris J. Stephens in *RA* XXXIII (1936) 26, No. 39; cf. also *ibid.* No. 40.

¹⁰⁰ According to date formulas from the cache of tablets found in Trench B at Tell Asmar. Cf. p. 123, n. 24.

Date B.C.	Ruler of Eshnunna	Events
PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE— <i>Continued</i>		
2039–37	Šillisin, son of ...sherum	In the 29th (2039 B.C.) and 31st (2037) years of Hammurabi occur wars with Babylon in which Eshnunna sides with Assyria (Subartu), Gutium, and at times Elam. ¹⁰⁶ To incidents during these wars refer perhaps some letters from Maeri in which attack by troops of Eshnunna is referred to or foreseen. ^{106a} Finally, however, Eshnunna is defeated by Babylon. Zimrilim of Maeri suggests that Hammurabi take over the kingship of Eshnunna or place one of his clients on the throne there. ^{106b}
PERIOD OF SUPREMACY OF BABYLON		
2031	Ibniirra	In the 37th year of Hammurabi (2031) the country suffers serious damage from a flood. ¹⁰⁷ War with Samsuiluna of Babylon in the 19th year (2006 B.C.) of that ruler. ¹⁰⁸ Is once more styled “king of Eshnunna.” Defeated and taken prisoner by Samsuiluna in the latter’s 23d year, he dies in fetters. ¹¹⁰ Samsuiluna pardons all captives. Samsuiluna builds a new stronghold, Dūr Samsuiluna, at Khafājah (Khafājah B+C) on the bank of the Diyālā (see p. 123) and restores the fortresses destroyed during the war. ¹¹¹ The Diyālā River and the Ṭaban canal are deepened in his 31st year. ¹¹²
2006	Iqishtishpak	
2002	Anni ¹⁰⁹	
1994		

¹⁰⁶ See date formulas of Hammurabi for his 30th and 32d years (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 180, years **132** and **134**).

^{106a} For this note see p. 244.

^{106b} *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ See formula for his 38th year (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 181, year **140**).

¹⁰⁸ See formula for 20th year of Samsuiluna (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 183, year **165**).

¹⁰⁹ We know only the final date of this reign.

¹¹⁰ Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria* (YOSB IX [1937]) No. 35:116–22: *an-ni šār eš-nun-na*¹¹ *la* ‘še-mu’ *a-wa-ti-šu* [...] *i ik-mi* [i]n ¹²*šigarim* (SI-GAR) *ú-ra-aš-šu-ma* [n] *a-pi-iš-ta-šu* *ú-ša-ri-iḫ*, “Anni, king of Eshnunna, who did not obey his command, . . . he bound; in a wooden collar (Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, p. 81) he led him hither and thus destroyed his life.” The text which contains this passage was written on the occasion of the rebuilding of the city wall of Kish, mentioned in Samsuiluna’s formula for his 24th year together with the building of Dūr Samsuiluna. Since according to VA 5951 ii 6–iii 5 (Poebel in *AOF* IX [1933–34] 241–92) Dūr Samsuiluna was built within two months after Samsuiluna’s victory over Eshnunna, we can date that victory and the capture of Anni to the 23d year of Samsuiluna, assuming that the date formula relates events of the preceding year.

¹¹¹ See Samsuiluna’s formula for his 24th year (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 184, year **169**); read *ù dūr-sa-am-su-i-lu-na ma(!)-da wa-ru-um(!)-ma(!)-ke₄ gú* ¹²*ur(!)-ùl-k[a]-ta bī-in-dím-ma*, “and built Dūr Samsuiluna in(?) the land of Warum on the bank of the Diyālā.” Cf. Ungnad, *loc. cit.* and literature quoted there. The building of Dūr Samsuiluna is dealt with in detail in VA 5951 (Poebel, *op. cit.*). A duplicate fragment in Akkadian has been found at Khafājah B+C.

¹¹² See formula for 32d year of Samsuiluna (Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 185, year **177**).

VI

OBJECTS

BY HENRI FRANKFORT

Few objects found in the buildings described in chapters i and ii are in themselves of great importance. When considered, however, in conjunction with the stratification of the ruins, several interesting facts emerge. Thus on the one hand the baked clay (terra-cotta) figurines of women, the typology of which is notoriously vague, appear at Tell Asmar to fall into three distinct groups according to their age; and as likely as not this distinction holds good for Babylonia as a whole. On the other hand we find that cylinder seals which we can date on internal, stylistic evidence with considerable accuracy do not at Tell Asmar occur always in the layers in which we should expect them. Akkadian (that is, Sargonid) influences in particular seem to survive well into the Larsa period. The question of survivals will be fully dealt with in a later volume, *Cylinder Seals from the Diyālā Region*.

The remaining classes of objects require little or no commentary. Wherever the illustrations themselves make clear all points of interest we have reduced the description to a minimum. Details concerning stratification and dimensions together with such description as seems requisite will be found in the catalogue at the end of this chapter. It should be remembered that the number of objects listed merely as surface finds is unduly great because this volume includes our first season's work at Tell Asmar, when the workmen used to bring in whatever had become exposed by wind and rain on any part of the tell. Often these pieces are valuable because they supply more complete examples of objects known also from stratified deposits; for example, compare figurine As. 33:598 (Fig. 109 *c*), a surface find, with As. 31:357 and 330 (Fig. 109 *a* and *e*). The square in which the surface find was made is indicated when known, though little value attaches to the location, since the action of heavy rain or crumbling walls may have caused considerable displacement.

In the actual excavations the uppermost meter of soil is called "top layer" unless good reasons exist for assigning the finds to the building of a known ruler. We estimate, however, that these upper layers of our tell represent the sediment of at least 2 meters of debris, which have disappeared as a result of four thousand years of denudation; the lighter particles of sand and clay which composed the weathering mud brick have been blown away or washed down the slopes of the tell, while sherds, terra cottas, and so on sank down upon the lower layers of the remains. It would therefore be pretending to unjustified precision if we assigned discoveries from this top layer to Ibiqadad II rather than to his immediate predecessors or successors, though in most cases we are able to date the remains within the limits of a few generations. But at the northwestern end of our excavation the high-level Bilalama structures and, in places, even remains of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur come to the surface and lie side by side with Larsa remains. The indication "top layer" will remind the reader in such cases of the existence of sources of error. However, in the great majority of cases the term may be taken to indicate the latter part of the Larsa period, that is, after Urninmar.

Finally, where the word "dump" is given as provenience, we are dealing with an object missed by pickman and shoveler and recovered by a basket-boy. As often as not such an object derives from the tippings of a basket-boy less observant than his fellow who was the

actual finder, and therefore it is unsafe to assign the object to the square where the finder himself was working.

At the end of this volume an index of loci will be found which will enable the reader to see which objects, inscriptions, and architectural remains were discovered together.

CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS

REIGN OF ILUSHULIA

The design of a magnificent cylinder seal of Ilushulia, the second builder in our series of rulers, is preserved in a number of impressions on two lumps of clay, the larger of which, As. 31:670, is shown in Figure 100 A. By combining the various details which each impression provides, the reconstruction shown in Figure 100 B was made.

This seal is most remarkable in that it shows the traditions of Akkadian art still ruling supreme at Eshnunna as late as the last years of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The main figure of the representation is the god Tishpak. He is armed with a battle-ax and holds in his right hand the "ring and staff"¹ which on the stela of Hammurabi² and on most contemporary and later monuments, seals,³ and figurines⁴ appear in the hand of Shamash or, sometimes, in the possession of Ishtar. Tishpak stands upon two crouching figures which represent a vanquished people, and he holds ropes which are fastened to their noses. The figure in front of the god represents, no doubt, Ilushulia; the upper part of the head is lost. He holds a battle-ax the head of which rests upon the ground. The figures in the lower register are obscure, except two figures of fallen enemies on the left. The other group may represent fighters, or perhaps a soldier holding captives. The inscription (seal legend No. 6) does not give us any information regarding these enemies. But certain date formulas on tablets of a slightly later period (e.g. date formula No. 42) prove that at Eshnunna, as elsewhere, the ruler's victories were duly ascribed to the god, his overlord. It seems likely that a victory by Ilushulia was commemorated by the setting-up of a stela (cf. the stela in Fig. 96, where the god is styled "king of the land of Warum," as on Ilushulia's seal), and that a miniature rendering of that relief was employed on the ruler's cylinder seal; for the design is so crowded with minute detail that it can hardly have been conceived by a seal cutter—in fact some features become clear only with the help of a magnifying glass.

Now in its whole conception this seal design, its subject (the god standing upon a fallen enemy) no less than its composition, resembles the best known monuments of Sargonid art—the victory stelae of Sargon⁵ and of Naramsin⁶—and the semibarbaric rock reliefs at Sar-i-Pul⁷ and Shaikh Khān⁸ which are derived from them. I do not, however, remember any representations reflecting this ancient Akkadian tradition that come from a time as late as the reign of Ibisin, except a few baked clay plaques⁹ presumably of the Larsa period. These derive, significantly enough, from Eshnunna or from Ishchālī—in other words, from sites which are in the heart of the kingdom of Akkad. Elsewhere this Akkadian tradition seems to be practically

¹ On this identification see *AOF* XII 129 f.

² Georges Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* II (Paris, 1931) 834–36.

³ Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collection of the Museum* (*PUMBP* XIV [Philadelphia, 1925]) e.g. Nos. 429 and 451.

⁴ See E. Douglas Van Buren's comprehensive and indispensable work, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (*YOSR* XVI [New Haven, 1930]) e.g. Nos. 411, 950, 1258, and 1264.

⁵ Contenau, *op. cit.* pp. 666–71.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 675–77; also Délégation en Perse, "Mémoires" I, *Recherches archéologiques*, 1. sér. (Paris, 1900) pp. 144–48.

⁷ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse* IV (Paris, 1896) 148–67, esp. Fig. 146.

⁸ *Ibid.* Pl. X.

⁹ In dealers' hands.

extinct before the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur; on the seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon we still find occasionally a single enemy under the victor's feet, but the figure of the fallen enemy has degenerated into an accessory of a god, who is identified in this way.¹⁰ The seal impression of Ilushuilia, however, proves that Akkadian tradition was a vital force in the art of Eshnunna as late as the reign of Ibisin of Ur.

The evidence of seals from the same level as Ilushuilia's seal impression seems to corroborate the evidence for the survival of Akkadian tradition. Seals As. 31:19 and 31:280 (Fig. 101 *a* and *b*), purely Akkadian in workmanship, may have been recovered from older ruins in the time of Ilushuilia or may have been heirlooms; the latter is the more likely assumption in the case of As. 31:280, which is very much worn. Seal As. 31:674 (Fig. 101 *c*) is more equivocal; it may be a late Akkadian product, or it may show a survival of Akkadian design in debased form. Such parallels as exist in collections do not help us, since their dates are unknown.¹¹ A purely Sargonid version of the same motive appears amongst the finds from Ur.¹² On As. 31:641 (Fig. 101 *d*) the scorpion and the bird, symbols of the goddess, are definitely in the Akkadian tradition.

REIGNS OF KIRIKIRI AND BILALAMA

The most important seal from these layers, As. 30:1000 (Fig. 101 *f*), was stolen, sold in Baghdad, and within a few days recovered by us from the dealer. It was almost certainly found in the burned rooms above the Gimilsin Temple at the Bilalama level, since we were excavating there at the time. This seal was given by Kirikiri to his son Bilalama (see seal legend No. 12). The god Tishpak appears here in the guise of Ningishzida.¹³ The style is that characteristic of the glyptic of the Third Dynasty of Ur, which only now, after the fall of Ibisin, seems to have made itself felt at the court of Eshnunna. Nevertheless, at the same level there were found the seal impression As. 31:573 (Fig. 102 *a*) and, at a slightly higher level, seal As. 30:123 (Fig. 102 *b*), both Akkadian in style. We should also mention as belonging to this period an unpierced alabaster cylinder, As. 31:492 (Fig. 101 *e*), which bears an inscription, not a scene; see seal legend No. 16.

REIGNS OF LATER RULERS

The conventional presentation scene which predominates in the glyptic of the Larsa period appears for the first time at Tell Asmar on the seal which Kirikiri gave to Bilalama (described above); but from Bilalama's successor, Isharramashu, onward it prevails almost to the exclusion of other themes (e.g. As. 31:616, Fig. 102 *i*; seal legend No. 21). The seals from these and later layers (shown in Figs. 102–3) hardly need individual comment. Even in this part of the Larsa period we find survivals of Sargonid features. An Akkadian seal, As. 30:7 (Fig. 102 *c*), was discovered as high up as the Urninmar level; and seal As. 31:432 (Fig. 102 *d*) came to light in an equally late environment, namely in the private houses under the Southern Building. As. 31:555 (Fig. 102 *g*), found likewise in the private houses under the Southern Building, and As. 30:77 (Fig. 102 *e*), discovered in the top layer of that building, show, in the space not occupied by the usual presentation scene, an incongruous rampant lion of undoubtedly Akkadian lineage.

Two seals, As. 30:37 and 30:39 (Fig. 102 *f* and *h*), are interesting because they show near the god a terra-cotta stand supporting a palm leaf and two bunches of dates, such a stand as

¹⁰ Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pp. 166 f.

¹¹ Legrain, *op. cit.* Nos. 72 and 133.

¹² Woolley, *UE II*, Pl. 216, No. 379.

¹³ See Frankfort in *Iraq* I 16 f. and Van Buren *ibid.* p. 73.

we believe to have stood over the drains in the sanctuaries of both temples described in this book (pp. 16 and 42).¹⁴ In many seals a snake appears behind the god; in As. 31:351 (Fig. 103 *a*) there are two, reminding us of the pair of snakes rising from the god's knees and of the caduceus—originally two copulating vipers—which we find on Akkadian seal impressions at Tell Asmar.¹⁵ The crescent occurs as commonly as the snake.

In As. 30:75 (Fig. 103 *b*) we have a particularly clear rendering of the "libra" or "arm of a pair of scales," that enigmatic object variously thought to be "a measuring rod, a model or standard,"¹⁶ a ritual vessel,¹⁷ or perhaps a bolt or a cylinder seal.¹⁸ Ward suggests¹⁹ that it is the "staff" which, conjointly with the "ring," often appears in the hands of gods as a symbol of authority. The mace, another symbol of authority, is quite commonly figured in the field beside a god on Akkadian seals. There is no reason to reject this explanation of the enigmatic design on the ground that the "ring and staff" are not used with all gods indiscriminately, for Tishpak appears sometimes with the sun disk and crescent, emblems of the sun-god, to whom the ring and staff also are appropriate (e.g. on As. 30:1000, Fig. 101 *f*, and on the fragment of a stela from Naramsin's Audience Hall, Fig. 96).

Three cylinder seals were found in the surface layers of Naramsin's Audience Hall. Seals As. 33:385 and 391 (Fig. 103 *o* and *p*) are of the ordinary Larsa type. As far as stratigraphy is concerned we have no reason to separate the third, As. 33:398 (Fig. 104 *a*), from them; but the writer suspects that its type of design and the designs on As. 31:334, 505, and 613 (Fig. 104 *b*, *d*, and *e*), all found in the top layer, are older and go back perhaps to the Gutium period. There is, however, very little evidence to support this view.

ORNAMENTS

Pendant As. 31:475 (Fig. 105 *a*) is a stamp seal. Three other pendants shown are commonly called stamp seals but are probably amulets against scorpion stings. The three differ in shape, As. 30:70 (Fig. 105 *b*) having a circular base and a pierced knob on the back, As. 30:121 (Fig. 105 *c*) being pyramidal and pierced near the apex, and As. 30:64 (Fig. 105 *d*) being a square tablet pierced for suspension. For the sake of clarity we show modern impressions beside these objects. I am not aware that hitherto objects of this type have been found to belong to the Larsa period. As. 33:324 (Fig. 105 *e*) is a monkey-shaped amulet of crystal.

The gold earring As. 31:200 (Fig. 105 *h*), of the type called "boat-shaped" or "lunate" by students of prehistory, has a parallel at Ur, also dated to the Larsa period.²⁰ As shown in the illustration, our earring has a soldered disk at either end, the pin being fastened to the disk at the left. The earring is of a more complicated, though smaller, type than that which was so common in the Early Dynastic cemetery at Ur, and it appears to be of the kind worn by the women shown in our baked clay figurines of the Larsa period. As. 31:484 and 494 (Fig. 105 *f* and *g*) are pendants of gold foil.

The etched beads As. 30:27 and 35 have been discussed by Mr. Horace Beck²¹ in connection

¹⁴ Cf. a relief from Lagash, Gaston Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello* (Paris, 1910) p. 294; the stela of Urnammu, *Antiquaries Journal* V (1925) Pl. XLVIII; and several seals such as BM 89131 (King, *History of Sumer and Akkad* [London, 1916] facing p. 246).

¹⁵ Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 71 and 119 f.

¹⁶ Legrain, *op. cit.* No. 241. Similarly Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Musée du Louvre* I (Paris, 1920) No. T. 232, calls it a "bâton de mesure."

¹⁷ H. H. von der Osten, *OIP* XXII 121 f.

¹⁸ Legrain, *op. cit.* No. 276, n. 1.

¹⁹ W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, "Publication" No. 100 [Washington, 1910]) pp. 408 f.

²⁰ Woolley, *UE* II, Pl. 138, No. U. 10409, and p. 241.

²¹ In *Antiquaries Journal* XIII (1933) 389.

with those from Ur and from India. The occurrence of these two beads in a Larsa context is unusual, all other known Mesopotamian specimens (including those from Tell Asmar) belonging to the Sargonid or Early Dynastic periods. As. 30:35 (Fig. 105 *i*) resembles the earlier beads in design and may possibly be contemporaneous with them, since the circumstances in which it was found do not unequivocally establish a Larsa date. On the other hand, the globular bead As. 30:27 (Fig. 105 *j*) is well dated to the reign of Ibalpiel I. Its design is remarkable; the guilloche recurs in a wall painting^{21a} in the palace of Maeri, which may be slightly later in date.

COPPER OR BRONZE OBJECTS

Among the implements and weapons of copper or bronze which turned up in our excavations (illustrated in Fig. 106) only two types require comment. First, As. 31:590a (Fig. 106 *f*) shows the survival into the Larsa period of the "vanity set" well known from Early Dynastic tombs at Ur. Second, the numerous lance- or spearheads of the type of As. 31:482a (Fig. 106 *j*) and As. 30:2 and 15 (not shown) occur so exclusively in the top layer that we appear to be justified in believing them to have belonged to the soldiers of Hammurabi who sacked Eshnunna.

The most important metal object found here is the statuette of a nude seated woman, As. 33:322 (Fig. 107); it is shown at *a* and *b* in the condition in which it was discovered and at *c-f* as it appeared after treatment by Mr. Delougaz in the Expedition's laboratory. Though much damaged by corrosion, it yet confirms the impression created by numerous sculptures in stone and by the few in metal which escaped the melting-pot: namely that modeling and casting provided the Babylonian artist with his most congenial medium of expression.²² The abdomen and legs, which have suffered less than the face, back, and arms, give an adequate idea of the artist's treatment of plastic values. The pose of the figure cannot be judged, of course, in the absence of the right arm, but the asymmetrical position of the legs is quite exceptional. Its adoption was suggested perhaps by the scheme into which the figure had to be fitted, for the statuette was not an isolated object. Under the feet the stump of a rivet appears; and traces of two more are found, one under the knees and one under the right buttock. A ledge, which also would serve to fasten the statuette to a larger object, projects horizontally from the back at the lower edge of the plaits of hair. It is easiest to imagine the figurine as a handle of a jug or drinking vessel, the ledge on the back being fastened to the rim and the three rivets being driven through the shoulder of the vessel. The type of subject fits this explanation; the woman exhibits none of the elaborate finery which decks the baked clay figurines representing either goddesses or worshiping ladies. Our figure is bareheaded and without earrings; she wears simply a necklace of a few rows of beads and a couple of bracelets, as any slave girl would do. The ears and nose are large. The hair is finely engraved so as to render the texture of the many plaits. One narrow plait hangs down below the ledge; this feature recurs on an Early Dynastic stone statue from Khafājah,²³ where it reminds one of the prevalent Arab fashion of entwining colored cords in the hair, the tasseled ends of which extend well beyond the ends of the plaits.

It is most unfortunate that the exact date of this object cannot be established within our stratification. It fell a prey to the untrustworthy individuals among our raw workmen, whom we succeeded in weeding out only during the course of our first season's work. We did not, as

^{21a} *Syria* XVIII (1937) 326, Fig. 1.

²² Cf. *OIP* XLIV 39 f.

²³ Kh. IV 250; see *ibid.* Pl. 75 *C*; previously published in *OIC* No. 19, lower right in Fig. 75.

in the case of seal As. 30:1000 (p. 203), recover the statuette in time to define its age by the stratum in process of excavation at the time of the theft; but it was recovered at Tell Asmar in circumstances which make its provenience from the buildings discussed in this volume almost a certainty.

BAKED CLAY FIGURINES

Any attempt to establish a chronological classification of these very common objects has to cope with the peculiar complication caused by the indestructible nature of their material. These small, hard figurines could easily slip down to deeper and earlier layers whenever pits or drains were built, and our plans show how often the deeper ruins have been disturbed by such structures. Similarly, the earth thrown up from below during such building activities might well contain fragments of early figurines which would thus appear in a much later context than the one to which they originally belonged.

When we eliminate all instances in which the stratification seems untrustworthy for the reasons given, we retain only in the case of the figurines of women a sufficiently unequivocal stratification to serve as a basis for typology. However, this result is by no means negligible, since hitherto there has been hardly any information at all available on this subject.²⁴

It should be remembered that the emergence of a new type is more significant than its survival into later periods, even apart from the complications discussed above, since a type may continue in use for some time alongside a later one which eventually displaces it. We shall discuss first the different classes of figurines and then their meaning in general.

FIGURINES OF WOMEN

Akkadian.—This, the oldest type represented among our finds, is illustrated by As. 30:47*a* and 95 (Fig. 108 *a* and *b*). The six specimens enumerated in the catalogue (As. 30:47*a*, *b*, *c*, *f*, and *g* and 30:95) are spread over strata ranging from the Third Dynasty of Ur into the Larsa period. The well attested occurrence of this type in early layers gains significance in connection with our work in the Akkadian private houses.²⁵ There we found similar figurines occurring regularly in Sargonid, and sometimes even in Early Dynastic, layers. We show for comparison one of these figurines from the private house area to the north, As. 33:91 (Fig. 108 *c*). It possesses two distinctive characteristics: the splayed lower edge, which makes it possible for the figure to stand upright, and the right arm stretched along the side of the body.

Minor variations occur: the necklaces, for instance, are rendered by incisions on As. 33:91, but contemporaneous figurines from the private houses are decorated with applied indented strips of clay such as those on As. 30:47*a*. When it was complete the headdress of As. 30:47*a* did not differ from that of As. 33:91, but the rolls of clay which rendered it have now come apart. More important is the difference in the position of the left hand. It is held across the body in As. 33:91 and lies under the left breast in As. 30:47*a*; but the latter attitude is found also in Sargonid figurines from the private houses. The two characteristics which we have stressed above, however—the splayed base and the extended right arm—occur in all instances of Akkadian figurines. In the buildings described in chapters i and ii this type has roughly the same distribution as the Akkadian cylinder seals, and this fact corroborates the evidence from our work in the Akkadian private houses.

²⁴ Cf. the tentative dates which are assigned to similar objects by Van Buren, *op. cit.*, where several types of the Larsa period, e.g. Nos. 12, 20, 23, and 137–40, are listed as Early Dynastic.

²⁵ A preliminary report on the Akkadian houses has appeared in *OIC* No. 17. The final report is in preparation; see the list of proposed volumes on page vii.

Similar figures were found at Assur, where they are dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur.²⁶ There is, however, a considerable divergence of detail, especially in the position of the right arm; and in dealing with such elementary productions as these figurines it is exceedingly difficult to decide which features are due to local predilections and idiosyncrasies (as such one would interpret the punctate ornamentation of the Assur specimens) and which are essentials required for the representation of different subjects.

Ur III.—The Third Dynasty of Ur introduces an entirely new type of figurine at Eshnunna, shown in Figure 109. As. 33:598 (Fig. 109 *c*) shows the woman nude except for a girdle, necklaces, and large lunate earrings similar to those described above (p. 204). The distinctive feature is the rounded modeling, which in its rough and ready way renders natural forms. The flexing of the legs at the knees, for instance, is vaguely indicated. The arms are outstretched horizontally. Pellets of clay are occasionally used to render anatomical detail, as on As. 31:163*b* and 330 (Fig. 109 *b* and *e*). These figurines cannot stand upright.

Early Larsa.—Early in the Larsa period, about the reign of Bilalama, the Ur III type undergoes modifications²⁷ which already point in the direction of the common Larsa type. The modeling, especially of the legs, still reflects natural forms, and ornaments and headdress are comparatively simple (e.g. As. 30:43 and 31:515, Fig. 110 *a* and *b*); but in some cases (e.g. As. 30:49*a*, Fig. 110 *c*) the headdress is more elaborate, and pellets of clay were used to render the breasts.

Common Larsa.—From Urninmar onward, probably well into the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the common Larsa type prevails (see Figs. 111–12). Large numbers of these figurines have been found on the surface of the tell. This common Larsa type is obviously a mass product, rendering in a variety of more or less fantastic ways the type introduced during the Third Dynasty of Ur (see above). The lower part of the body has become quite flat, and the narrow waist and suddenly broadening hips give the figures a violin shape. There is a profusion of ornaments: often two sets of earrings (one above the other), a pile of necklaces, and a studded diadem. The flanges with four perforations, which commonly appear at the side of the head (e.g. As. 30:41*a* and 30:1*a*, Fig. 111 *a* and *f*), cannot well be explained unless they served for suspension or for stitching the figurine to some material or to a dress. Above and behind the ornaments, rendered in clay, the hair itself was apparently represented by a lump of bitumen, which in one case is preserved (As. 31:331, Fig. 111 *b*). The accidental disappearance of the ornaments, which were separately molded and simply affixed when the clay was moist, sometimes leaves the central core of clay exposed (e.g. As. 30:46, Fig. 111 *i*); such figurines should not be considered a separate type. The embellishments, consisting of pellets of clay and incisions, are often applied without apparent reason (e.g. As. 31:495*b*, Fig. 112; As. 30:45*a*, 30:41*b*, 31:495*a*, and 30:45*c*, Fig. 111 *g* and *j–l*). They sometimes render anatomical parts, especially the navel (e.g. As. 31:415, Fig. 111 *h*) and the hands (see the pellets on the extremities of the arms of As. 30:44*a*, Fig. 111 *e*); sometimes they portray a recognizable type of ornament, such as a necklace (e.g. As. 31:360, Fig. 111 *c*) or a girdle (e.g. As. 30:44*a*, Fig. 111 *e*). A crescent-shaped pendant is occasionally found (e.g. As. 30:41*a*, Fig. 111 *a*); sometimes it is combined with a pellet and inverted, which may suggest a dangling flower, as on As. 30:41*b* (Fig. 111 *j*).²⁸

The Louvre possesses a figure of this type (of unknown origin)²⁹ which resembles ours in all respects; others, somewhat different but of a related type, are known from Nippur³⁰ and from

²⁶ Walter Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (WVDOG XXXIX [Leipzig, 1922]) p. 91 and Pl. 56.

²⁷ An example is As. 30:49*b* (not illustrated).

²⁸ Cf. Andrae, *op. cit.* Pl. 51 *g*.

²⁹ Van Buren, *op. cit.* No. 20.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Nos. 138–40; the main difference is that these figures are shown holding their breasts.

Kish;³¹ and some have come from Assur,³² where lack of stratigraphic evidence as to their age led Andrae to combine the Larsa figurines with the one very fragmentary example from the Early Dynastic temple of Stratum G.³³

BOW-LEGGED FIGURINES

Quite apart stands the bow-legged figure As. 31:329 (Fig. 113 *a*), which resembles the common Larsa type of female figurine in the position of the arms and the details of ornament; but the form of legs and waistline is related to that of the male figurines As. 30:80 and 82 (Fig. 113 *b-c*).

FIGURINES OF MEN

The difference between this class of figurines and those which have already been discussed goes deeper than appears at first sight. The female figurines all depict the human form without the addition of attributes; therefore such contrasts as we observed among them lie not in the subject matter but exclusively in the style. We were thus able to assign to different periods the different manners of rendering the same subject.

The figurines of men present a much more complicated problem. They illustrate a great variety of subjects while showing hardly any differences of style. This apparent uniformity may be due to the rarity of early examples, since with perhaps two exceptions the male figurines derive from the surface of the tell or from layers of the second half of the Larsa period.

Ur III.—Figurine As. 31:557 (Fig. 114 *b*) was found at a level which contained tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur and hence probably dates from this early period. The subject does not recur in later layers. The figurine represents a bearded man with a flat cap. He seems to wear a sash, unless, as Legrain thinks,³⁴ the ridge across his chest indicates the edge of a shawl which leaves the right shoulder bare; but then the pellet on the shoulder would be difficult to explain. The suggestion of naturalistic modeling in the lower part of the figure recalls the contemporary female figurines (see p. 207, above). Though this figurine is not paralleled among our own finds, several similar specimens have been found at Nippur.³⁵

Ur III or Early Larsa.—As. 31:648 (Fig. 114 *a*) also may be earlier than most of the other male figurines. This head was found outside the Gimilsin Temple at a level into which Urninnar's foundations had cut, and it may well belong to the period of Ur III. It is certainly modeled more carefully than the other pieces. Moreover, the flat cap is studded under the rim and in the center of the upper surface instead of on the circumference of the rim as is usual in the later part of the Larsa period (e.g. As. 30:88, Fig. 117 *b*, and As. 30:5, Fig. 118 *a*).

Common Larsa.—The remaining figurines of men (Fig. 114 *c-g* and Figs. 115–18) are all to be ascribed to the later part of the Larsa period and seem actually to continue into the Hammurabi dynasty; for specimens from Abu Hatab, probably of that date, closely resemble our types.³⁶

It may be said of the male figurines in general that they do not show the nude figure and that they retain the cylindrical shape with splayed lower edge which characterizes the earliest female figures (such as As. 30:47*a*, Fig. 108 *a*).

³¹ H. de Genouillac, *Premières recherches archéologiques à Kish II* (Paris, 1925) figurine P 17 (Pl. I 8 and Pl. 58:1).

³² Andrae, *op. cit.* Pl. 51 d and probably b, c, and e, also Pl. 52 p and Pl. 53 f.

³³ *Ibid.* Pl. 51 a.

³⁴ *Terra Cottas from Nippur* (PUMBP XII [Philadelphia, 1930]) p. 25, where several are listed.

³⁵ Van Buren, *op. cit.* Nos. 599–600; Legrain, *op. cit.* Nos. 161 (which has its right arm lifted), 163–66, 169, and 180.

³⁶ Ernst Heinrich, *Fara: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03* (Berlin, 1931); cf. Pl. 75 c with our As. 30:9 (Fig. 116 *d*), also Pl. 75 a (which has lost its cap) with As. 30:5 and 54 (Fig. 118 *a* and *d*) and As. 31:361 (Fig. 115 *c*).

The beard is rendered in various ways. It may consist of a single or double strip of clay stuck round the face and incised (e.g. As. 31:648, Fig. 114 *a*; As. 31:361, 30:6, 30:56, 30:58, Fig. 115 *c-f*; As. 31:569, Fig. 116 *g*; As. 30:88, Fig. 117 *b*; and As. 30:54, Fig. 118 *d*). This method degenerates into the cursory sticking-on of a hatched or crosshatched bar in front of the neck (e.g. As. 30:86 and 30:61, Fig. 115 *a-b*; As. 30:57*a* and 30:9, Fig. 116 *a* and *d*) indistinguishable from the necklaces of the female figurines; or a triangular piece of hatched clay may be affixed, as on As. 31:716 (Fig. 114 *e*) and 30:51 (Fig. 115 *i*) or on As. 31:362 (Fig. 114 *g*) and 30:3 (Fig. 116 *j*), from which the beard has been lost. In another group (e.g. As. 30:50 and 83, Fig. 115 *g-h*) the very long square beard seems to be the only characteristic mark of the figure. Only rarely are the incisions indicating the beard put on the figure itself (e.g. As. 30:93, Fig. 117 *c*).

The headdress of the male figurines is another distinctive feature. Several types occur, but they seem to be used indiscriminately with various subjects. The horned crown of the gods is worn by only one of our figurines (As. 30:61, Fig. 115 *b*). It seems hardly possible to consider the commoner pointed cap (see As. 30:93, Fig. 117 *c*) as its simplified version, though a pointed cap is not usually considered part of the Babylonian costume. In our figures this cap is generally decorated like that of a pierrot by the use of pellets of clay (e.g. As. 30:86 and 30:6, Fig. 115 *a* and *d*; As. 30:57*a*, Fig. 116 *a*; As. 30:93 and 30:90, Fig. 117 *c* and *d*); its rim is once shown as a band tied at the back of the head (As. 30:94, Fig. 114 *c*). It is probable that this pointed cap was manufactured by sticking a conical piece of clay onto the top of the half-finished head, the juncture being covered by a band which added to its strength. We have seen already that such added details easily come away, since the clay was not very wet when worked (cf. p. 207); the breaks are therefore perfectly smooth, and unless one has a series of figurines in various states of preservation it is sometimes difficult to recognize a figurine as being incomplete.³⁷ Thus As. 31:361 and 30:3 (Fig. 115 *c* and *j*) do not represent bareheaded men but have merely lost their caps. Similarly it is likely that As. 30:9 (Fig. 116 *d*) originally had a pointed cap like that of As. 30:57*a* (Fig. 116 *a*). It is certain, however, that a flat cap also was in use. We have the detailed example As. 31:648 (Fig. 114 *a*) to vouch for it; and the common types illustrated by As. 30:88 (Fig. 117 *b*) and As. 30:5 (Fig. 118 *a*), though they do not have a pellet on the top, do not seem to have lost a superimposed conical piece. A differently rendered cap, or perhaps another headdress, is the "beret" of As. 33:72 (Fig. 116 *e*).

It seems certain that figurines of bareheaded men do not occur at Tell Asmar; and male figurines of Larsa type which are so catalogued in museums seem, as far as I am able to judge, to be incomplete pieces (cf. n. 37).

We may now enumerate the groups into which the figurines of men can be divided according to subject:

- I. Animal-bearers. This class is by far the largest. It is represented in our Figures 116-17; compare also plaque As. 30:87 (Fig. 125 *g*). The animal, always hornless, seems to be a kid, since its small, upright tail is often indicated (e.g. As. 30:72 and 52, Fig. 116 *b-c*; As. 30:88, Fig. 117 *b*). Another type, a man carrying a horned goat, appears to have existed; but we have found only three fragments of the animal (e.g. As. 31:367*a*, Fig. 119 *c*) and none of men which could be connected with it. Figurines and plaques showing the same subject are known from Ur, Susa, Lagash, and Nippur;³⁸ but they cover widely different types and periods.

³⁷ E.g. Van Buren, *op. cit.* No. 600, where the supposed "uncovered head" is compared with the alabaster statuette of Manishtusu, but the terra cotta is considered of earlier date. Actually it is a variant of No. 599 and of our As. 31:557 (Fig. 114 *b*) dated to Ur III.

³⁸ Van Buren, *op. cit.* Nos. 528-40.

- II. Figure with necklace(?) (As. 30:54, Fig. 118 *d*). Similar figurines, also of the Larsa period, are known from Nippur.³⁹
- III. Figures with crescent-shaped objects (e.g. As. 30:5, 30:60, 31:717, and 31:75*a*, Fig. 118 *a* and *e-g*).
- IV. Figure with sword(?) (As. 30:55, Fig. 118 *c*).
- V. Figures with two objects (e.g. As. 31:920 and 36, Fig. 118 *b* and *h*).
- VI. Figures with long, square-cut beards (e.g. As. 30:50 and 83, Fig. 115 *g-h*).

It seems impossible, on the basis of the rough rendering of the subjects, to interpret groups II-VI in a satisfactory manner.

THE PURPOSE OF THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

With the exception of the isolated fragment As. 30:61 (Fig. 115 *b*), not a single figurine shows definite attributes of deity. The large number of figurines which represent men carrying animals recalls the numerous Akkadian cylinder seals which show a worshiper carrying a kid and approaching a deity. The baked clay figurine might, then, be one of three things: a substitute for the actual sacrifice of a kid, a permanent reminder to the god that the sacrifice had been made, or an amulet obtained from the temple in exchange for the sacrifice. The last possibility has in its favor the circumstance that these figurines are found in private houses as well as in or near public buildings, whereas the other two would lead us to expect that the figurines would have accumulated in the temple only. It would not, indeed, be difficult to explain male figurines of groups III-V in exactly the same way as the animal-bearers, the offering in those cases consisting not of a kid but of objects as yet unidentified, possibly cakes and lengths of cloth.

The figures of women present a somewhat different case, though their identification with Ishtar is as little proved as is the identification of the bearded male with Enlil by Jastrow⁴⁰ and others. It is even possible to apply the three possibilities mentioned in the preceding paragraph to the female figurines also, the sacrifice in their case being evidently the chastity offered by the devotees of the goddess on the occasions to which Herodotus refers.⁴¹ Again, of the three possibilities, the last one (that the figurines were amulets received from the temple in return for a sacrifice) would best explain the occurrence of these female figurines in private houses over the entire site, a fact observed by Andrae in Assur also.⁴²

There are, however, arguments against this interpretation of the female figurines. The attitude of As. 30:47*a* (Fig. 108 *a*), where the left hand presses the breast, recalls such ancient epithets as "fed with the milk of Ninhursag" and would, in general, suggest the mother aspect of the Great Goddess to such an extent that the claim to see her image in our figurines has much in its favor.⁴³ It is true that in our own collection only the oldest type, the Akkadian, assumes this attitude; but figurines of our Larsa type found at Nippur also press their breasts with their hands. Because of the Nippur figurines we may be entitled to connect the nude figurines of our Ur III and Larsa layers with the Akkadian figurines described on page 206. However, the flatness of the female figurines of the common Larsa type and the curious perforated strips of clay which are so common (e.g. As. 30:41*a* and 30:1*a*, Fig. 111 *a* and *f*, and even As. 31:329, Fig. 113 *a*) suggest that they were perhaps sewn onto cloth or otherwise worn on the person in special circumstances. It would be valuable if a text could be found bear-

³⁹ *Ibid.* Nos. 598 and 602.

⁴⁰ Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1912); bearded figures in his Fig. 8 are so identified.

⁴¹ Herodotus i. 199; cf. also Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1911) pp. 137 f.

⁴² Andrae, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁴³ Cf. *ibid.* p. 86.

ing on some such usage; archeology, in any case, does not supply conclusive evidence as to their character.

As we have seen, the figurines of men and women alike may be explained as representing worshipers. But, on the other hand, it is equally feasible to maintain that the females represent goddesses and even that some of the male figurines (particularly those of group VI) represent gods.

ANIMAL FIGURINES

The animal figurines fall into four classes:

Rattles.—Some animal figurines are hollow (As. 31:437*a*, 30:31, and 31:400, Fig. 119 *a*, *b*, and *d*; As. 30:22 and 66, Fig. 121 *a-b*); they are generally interpreted as rattles, since the insertion of minute pebbles was apparently intended to produce noise when the object was shaken. A somewhat similar pottery rattle, one with a gazelle's head, was found at Tell el-^cAmārnah in Egypt,⁴⁴ and a very early rattle comes from a child's grave at Tepe Gawra.^{44a}

Sacrificial animals.—Some larger animals each, no doubt, formed part of a group which represented a man bringing a sacrificial beast; such are As. 31:367*a* and 28*a* (Fig. 119 *c* and *e*), in each of which the hand of a man is visible on the neck of the animal. No such group has ever been found complete.

Separate animals.—Some figurines of animals give no evidence of having been associated with human figures (e.g. As. 30:67 and 31:49, Fig. 119 *f-g*, and As. 30:10, Fig. 121 *c*). Since they are always rams or bulls, they may represent sacrificial animals and thus perform the same function as the figurines of animal-bearers discussed above. They may, however, be related to those of the next group.

Divine or semidivine animals.—The roaring lion As. 30:71 (Fig. 121 *d*) belongs to this group.⁴⁵ To this class belong also the monstrous figures As. 30:12*a*, 69*a*, 68, and 73 (Fig. 122 *a-d*). The first and fourth of these seem to have a cow's head on a woman's body, the second a lion's head; the third is male, but otherwise it is of an indeterminate character.

Quite apart stands the triangular object As. 30:30 (Fig. 120), showing the heads of a bull, an ibex, and a lion.⁴⁶ It could be rotated round a pin stuck through a hole in the center. I have suggested tentatively that it might have had astrological significance. Perhaps it was used for divination; but here, again, textual evidence is needed to substantiate such an interpretation.

BAKED CLAY PLAQUES

The stratification of the baked clay plaques is complicated by the factors already mentioned in describing the figurines (p. 206). Only nine can be dated: As. 31:608, Fig. 123; As. 31:679, 30:62, 31:678, 31:680, Fig. 124 *a*, *c*, *d*, and *f*; As. 31:782 and 59, Fig. 125 *a* and *f*; As. 31:783, Fig. 126 *f*; and As. 31:565*a*, not illustrated.

PLAQUES WITH FIGURES OF WOMEN

Plaques As. 31:782 (Fig. 125 *a*) and As. 31:565*a* (not illustrated) are dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur; As. 30:62 (Fig. 124 *c*) is only a little later, being dated to the reign of Isharra-mashu. Figures 124 *a* and 125 *f* probably show female divinities and are described below. The other plaques showing female figures—As. 30:63 (Fig. 124 *b*), As. 31:339*a*, 31:474, and 30:119 (Fig. 125 *c-e*), and even the quasi-primitive As. 31:213 (Fig. 125 *b*)—were found on or near the surface of the tell.

⁴⁴ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XIII (1927) Pl. L 4.

^{44a} *Asia* XXXVIII (1938) 539, Fig. 13.

⁴⁵ Cf. the copper lamps in the form of lions found in 1935 in the temple of Ishchālī (*OIC* No. 20, p. 98).

⁴⁶ *OIC* No. 13, pp. 21 f.

PLAQUES WITH FIGURES OF MEN

The most interesting specimen in this group is As. 31:608 (Fig. 123): a man wearing a feather crown similar to that worn by the Kassite king Marduknadinahē on his stela⁴⁷ and similar also to the crowns worn by the human-headed bulls at the palace gates of Khorsabad, except that in the latter case the feathers are held by a horned crown instead of a plain band. The plaque would normally be considered to date from the reign of Urninmar, since it was found in a room in his palace; but there is a possibility that the plaque may go back to the time of Kirikiri, since in the same room at a lower level (i.e., M 32:12) tablets from the reign of Kirikiri were found. Until the discovery of this plaque it was not known that this type of headdress was in use as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. If it should go back to the time of Kirikiri, it would be interesting to know whether this peculiar headdress was connected with the mountaineers rather than with Mesopotamia. It is impossible to determine the objects which the man holds.

Plaque As. 31:678 (Fig. 124 *d*), from the Ur III level, is a bearded figure with fringed shawl and throwing stick, upon a studded background; it may represent a divinity. Plaque As. 31:783 (Fig. 126 *f*), probably from the Ur III level, shows a rider on an animal in which one would like to discover a camel but for the fact that the use of the camel in Mesopotamia at that period remains unproved. Another plaque from the Ur III level is As. 31:680 (Fig. 124 *f*). This is of the type called "hunter with quarry," since hares and birds are carried in this position on a number of plaques from Ishchālī and other sites; but it may represent a variation on the theme of the worshiper bringing a sacrificial animal. In the present case the quarry is, indeed, a small goat or perhaps a gazelle, carried by all four feet and hanging head downward. The animal on As. 31:496 (Fig. 126 *e*) seems to be a hare carried by the forelegs; the stratification of this plaque is not certain, since it was found in the packing of a drain constructed at the time of Bilalama. Another plaque from the packing of a Bilalama drain is As. 31:675 (Fig. 124 *e*), a bearded figure shouldering a battle-ax. He may be a divinity.

The remainder of this group consists of surface finds. Plaque As. 30:87 (Fig. 125 *g*) shows the usual attitude of a worshiper carrying a kid; As. 30:117 (Fig. 126 *a*), which shows fine modeling notwithstanding its rain-worn surface, is the upper part of a figure which may be that of a king treading upon fallen enemies.

PLAQUES WITH FIGURES OF DIVINITIES

Two of the dated designs show figures which are probably female divinities. Plaque As. 31:679 (Fig. 124 *a*) is dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur. The figure is remarkable for being clothed in a flounced skirt, though shown extended on a bed, and for the rendering of the feet in profile. The flounced skirt was at this period represented on divinities only; the rendering of the feet is in strict accordance with the rules of ideoplastic representation in relief. A mold for a seated female figure in a flounced skirt, As. 31:59 (Fig. 125 *f*), probably belongs to the reign of Urninmar; we show a photograph of a modern impression beside the mold.

Dated or partially dated plaques which may represent male divinities are As. 31:678 and 675 (Fig. 124 *d* and *e*), described above. All other plaques belonging to this class are surface finds. As. 30:118 (Fig. 126 *g*) shows a god mounting a step, perhaps a ziggurat. The objects which he holds can no longer be recognized. As. 30:32 and 116 (Fig. 126 *c* and *b*) are the upper and lower parts of a bull-man carrying a standard shaped like a pine cone, a figure which often occurs on seals of the Hammurabi period and which seems to be especially connected with the

⁴⁷ King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1912) Pl. LIV.

sun-god.⁴⁸ The survival of the stylized curls of hair at the joints of the legs, which are characteristic of Early Dynastic reliefs and glyptic, is interesting. The same creature is seen shouldering a battle-ax on As. 30:115 (Fig. 126 *d*).

BONE OBJECTS

Numerous bone pins and needles were found during the excavations; a selection is shown in Figure 127. In a pit (L 30:1) seventeen were discovered together, including two of the type represented by As. 31:487 (Fig. 127 *g*), along with eleven knucklebones; this suggests that they formed part of a gaming set.

POTTERY

Plates XIX–XXIV exhibit the types of pottery found in the buildings described in chapters i and ii; Plates XXIII–XXIV show the various classes of large vessels found, one on top of another, forming vertical drains.

There is no occasion to differentiate the various types of pottery according to their provenience. Tall vessels of type 75 (Pl. XXI) were used, with the bottoms knocked out, in a horizontal drain built by Ilushuilia (see p. 32), and similar vessels were found in the circular well built by Ibalpiel I (see p. 80) not long before Hammurabi. The bowl with carinated rim (type 8, Pl. XIX), the commonest type of pottery at Tell Asmar, is known to have been in use during the Third Dynasty of Ur at Fārah.⁴⁹ It occurs in all layers of the palace complex at Tell Asmar; we know, however, from our work in the Akkadian private houses⁵⁰ that it was not in use here in the Akkadian period.

All the pottery figured on these plates is made from yellow-buff to green-buff clay, with a slip of the same color; it is well fired. The walls of small vessels such as types 26–36 and 50 are often as thin as is possible in vessels of earthenware. As to the functions of the different kinds of vessels, nothing can be said except that type 17 may represent a jar lid. The type drawings here presented are published as a contribution to a much needed corpus of Mesopotamian pottery in which the distinctive shapes of each period should be collected.

A curious kind of decorated pottery which shows a series of tubes (atrophied spouts?) around the rim occurs at Tell Asmar in Larsa layers only (e.g. As. 31:358*a*, 358*c*, 358*e*, and 358*f*, Fig. 129 *a–d*).

In the Larsa layers appear also small vases of types 69–71, represented by pots in Figure 130. These must have served to carry some special substance. In these types the bottom of the vessel is round (see As. 30:P.8, Fig. 130 *b*), but in order to provide a base the sides were extended downward to form a stand-ring. The ring base was pierced in two or four places corresponding with two or four vertically pierced lugs above (cf. As. 30:P.6, Fig. 130 *a*, with As. 30:P.40, Fig. 130 *c*), so that the little pot could be carried by a string passing through both sets of holes. The incised decoration is paneled and consists of simple crosshatchings or of circular or segmental impressions of reeds. As regards shape and decoration, this variety of vase is a rather debased descendant of an older class of pottery which is found at Susa,⁵¹ Lagash,⁵² and Djokha (Jūkhah)⁵³ and which belongs to the time of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur.

⁴⁸ *Iraq* I 10, n. 4.

⁴⁹ Erich Schmidt in *PUMJ* XXII (1931) 202 f. and Pl. VII 2.

⁵⁰ To be discussed in a later publication in this series.

⁵¹ Délégation en Perse, *Mémoires* I 135, Fig. 337; *RA* XXI (1924) 111, Fig. 3; Contenau, *op. cit.* p. 796, Fig. 556; Meissner, *Die babylonischen Kleinplastiken* ("Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities" IV [Leipzig, 1934]) Fig. 11.

⁵² Cros, *op. cit.* pp. 36–40, 127, 147 f., 236, 244, Pl. IV.

⁵³ An unpublished example is in the Louvre.

Sherds of this older ware occurred in our own excavations in deep layers around Urningish-zida's pit (O 29:1) and at various places in the top layer, especially at the northwest end of the palace where Ur III and Bilalama layers came almost to the surface. The most interesting sherd of all, As. 34:45 (Fig. 128), was found with others in a pit of the Urninmar period, L 30:1. Other pieces were discovered in the Southern Building. It seems therefore that a survival of this ware from the Third Dynasty of Ur into the Larsa period can be surmised; the fact that we never found more than one or two small fragments of any one vase rather suggests that the intrusion into the Larsa layers was accidental and that the actual vogue of the pottery goes back to an earlier date.

The characteristics of this ware, of which some sherds are shown in Fig. 131, are the same at Tell Asmar as those observed elsewhere. The pottery is gray-black throughout. The main decoration is placed in panels separated by plain or dotted borders. All incisions are filled with a white chalky substance; the smooth borders are often colored red, but this paint comes off at the merest touch. The bird-on-fish design from Lagash is not known here. A single bird or goat is often accompanied by a stamped design of rosettes or concentric circles as "filling ornament." Some vases are decorated exclusively with geometric motives. Sherd As. 31:79 (Fig. 131 *a*) shows a stylized "mountain design" which often implies the appearance of divine figures or emblems in the frieze above it; but we possess only this one small fragment of the vessel. The complete vase was of a different shape from the majority of this group. Likewise of unusual shapes are the rim fragments of a bowl (As. 31:472, Fig. 131 *c*) and of a small closed pot (As. 30:P.5, Fig. 131 *e*) and the shoulder piece of another pot (As. 31:265, Fig. 131 *d*). Apparently, interesting scenes were occasionally figured on these vases; at least As. 34:45 (Fig. 128) shows a fragment of a standing figure with battle-ax and bow which recalls the figure of Ilushuilia on the seal impression which we discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

The unusual variety of shape and decoration found at Tell Asmar in a kind of pottery which elsewhere shows a most limited range of both makes us regret that we have not yet tapped the layers in which this pottery really belongs and in which it may be expected to be more plentiful. We have seen that it appears in the Larsa period sparingly, apparently as a survival of an earlier time; but we know the material culture of Akkadian times very well, and this ware does not belong to it. There can, then, be no doubt that this pottery is a product of an intermediate period, the period in which the Third Dynasty of Ur was predominant. The time of the Third Dynasty of Ur is one which has been almost unexplored in the course of our campaigns.

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

This abbreviated catalogue lists the objects discussed in this volume and some related objects. In most cases one measurement is given (in centimeters); it is the greatest dimension unless otherwise specified. "Top layer" is used of a level as deep as 1 meter below the surface, where the chronology of the levels is not clear. "B" indicates that the specimen is now in the Iraq Museum at Baghdad; "C," followed by museum number, that it is in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago.

- As. 30:1*a* (Fig. 111 *f*). Baked clay female figurine, lower part missing; 12.5 cm. Found in P 29:4, top layer. C (A 8332).
- As. 30:1*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:1*a*. Found in L 30:1, top layer. B.
- As. 30:1*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:1*a*. Found in M 23 in a sounding, top layer. B.
- As. 30:1*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:1*a*; 13.5 cm. Found in P 29:4, top layer. C (A 8333).
- As. 30:1*e* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:1*a*. Found in P 29:1, Ibiqadad I level.

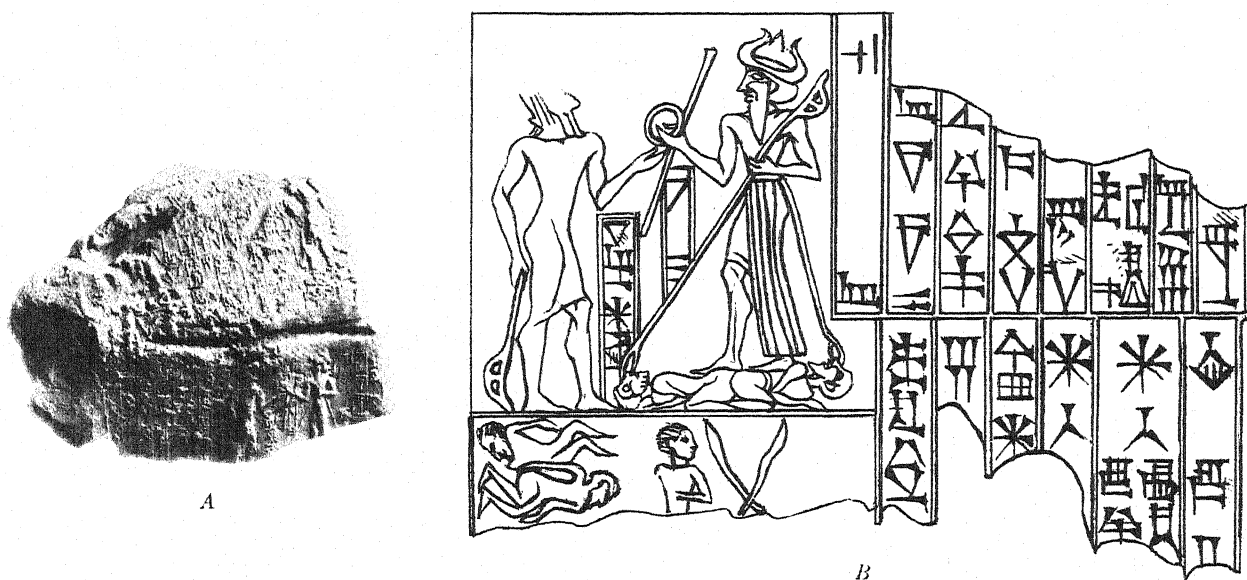


FIG. 100.—A. LUMP OF CLAY (AS. 31:670) BEARING SEVERAL IMPRESSIONS OF A SEAL OF ILUSHULIA. ACTUAL SIZE. B. RECONSTRUCTION OF DESIGN OF ILUSHULIA SEAL

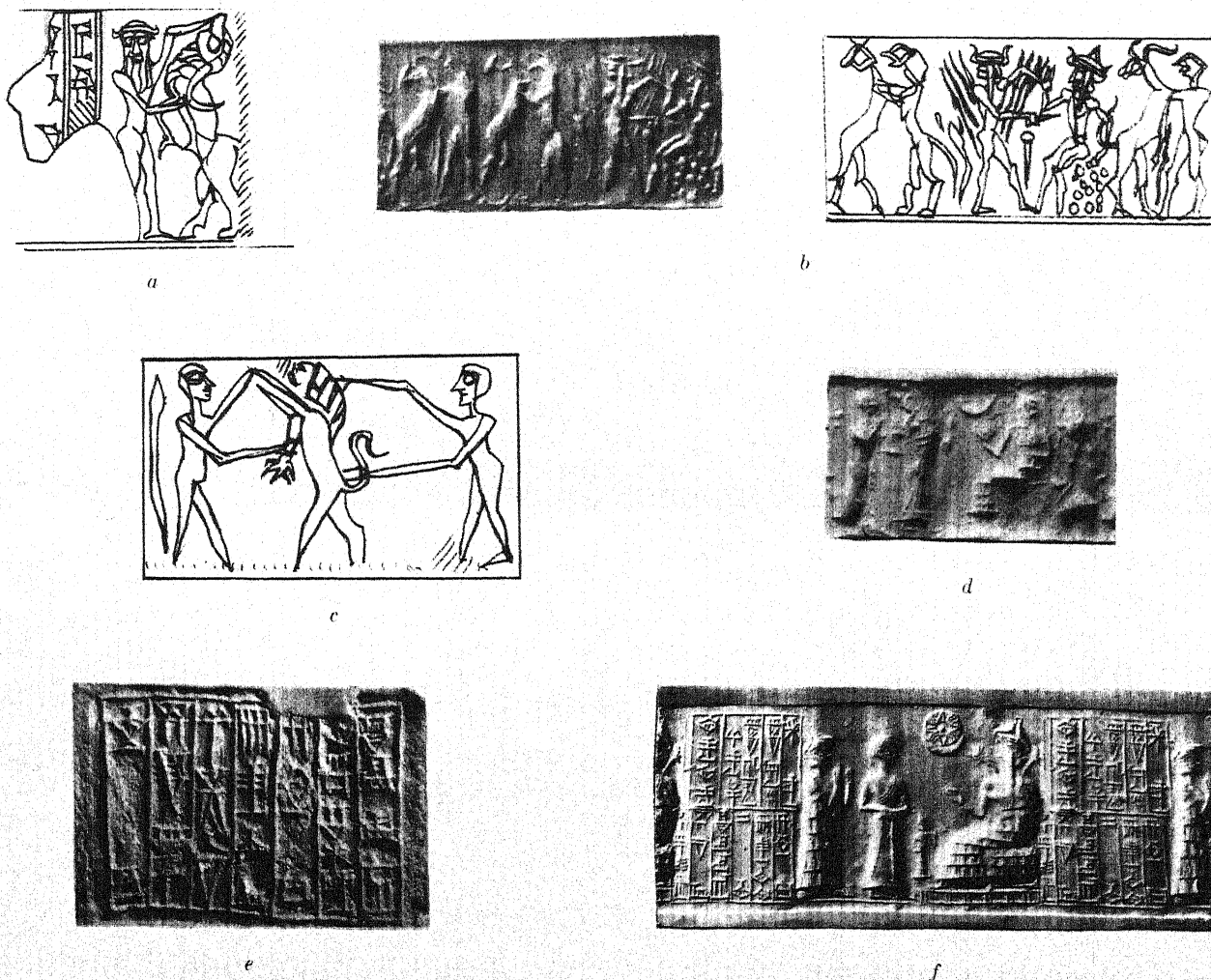


FIG. 101.—CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS OF THE TIME OF ILUSHULIA, KIRIKIRI, AND BILALAMA. ACTUAL SIZE

a As. 31:19	c As. 31:674	e As. 31:492
b As. 31:280	d As. 31:641	f As. 30:1000

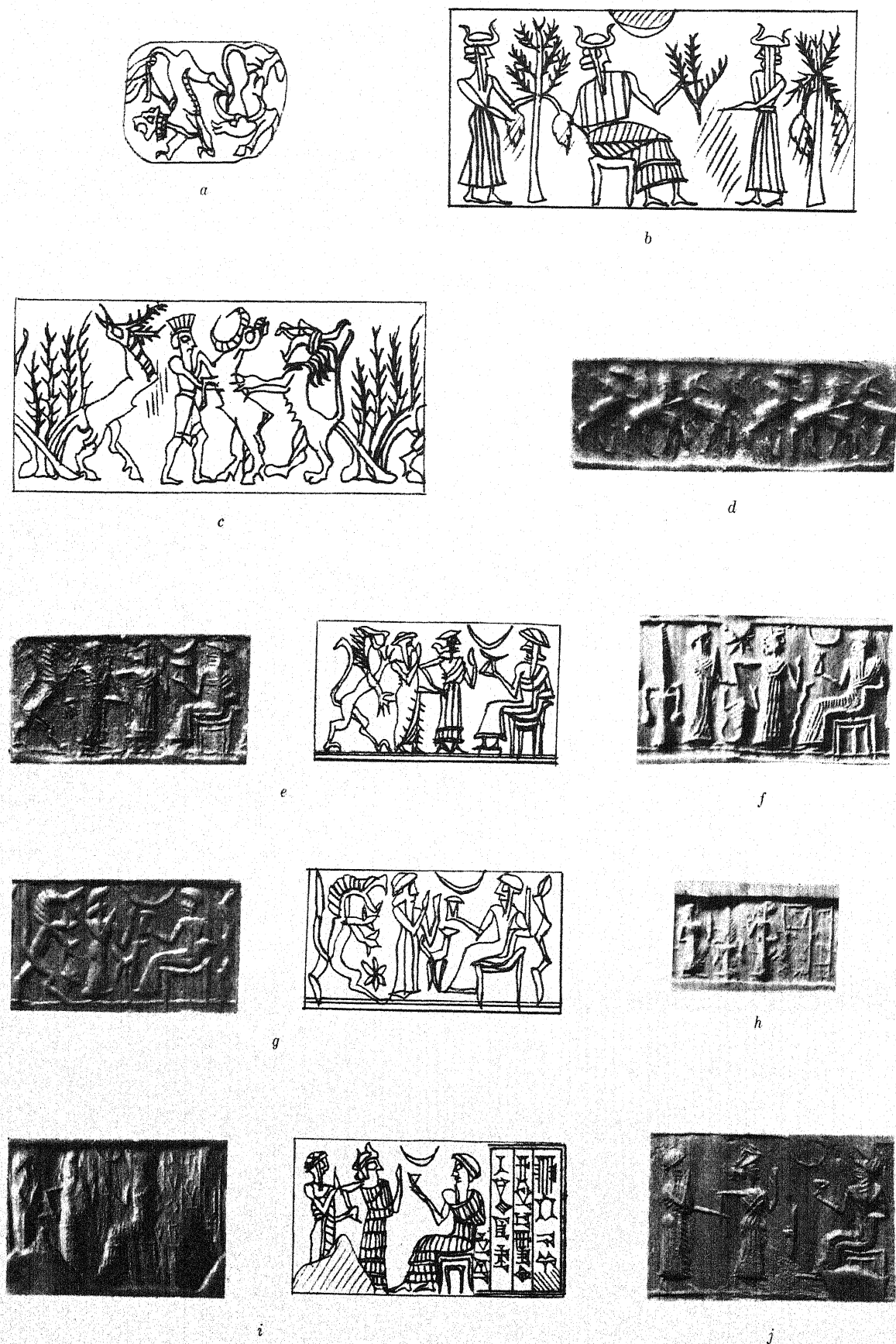
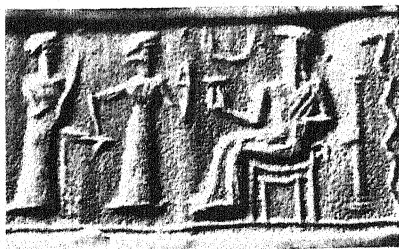


FIG. 102.—CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS (*a*, AN ANCIENT IMPRESSION) FROM THE TIME OF BILALAMA ONWARD. ACTUAL SIZE

<i>a</i>	As. 31:573	<i>e</i>	As. 30:77	<i>h</i>	As. 30:39
<i>b</i>	As. 30:123	<i>f</i>	As. 30:37	<i>i</i>	As. 31:616
<i>c</i>	As. 30:7	<i>g</i>	As. 31:555	<i>j</i>	As. 31:13
<i>d</i>	As. 31:432				



a



b



c



d



e



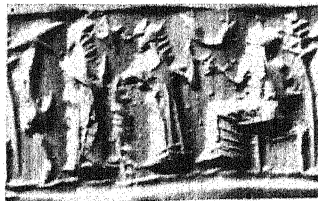
f



g



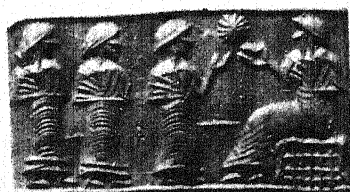
h



i



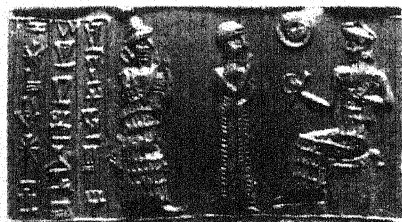
j



k



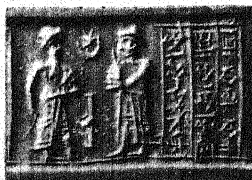
l



m



n



o



p

FIG. 103.—CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS FROM THE TIME OF BILALAMA ONWARD. ACTUAL SIZE

<i>a</i>	As. 31:351	<i>g</i>	As. 31:556	<i>l</i>	As. 31:566
<i>b</i>	As. 30:75	<i>h</i>	As. 30:8	<i>m</i>	As. 31:493
<i>c</i>	As. 31:431	<i>i</i>	As. 30:74	<i>n</i>	As. 30:38
<i>d</i>	As. 31:14	<i>j</i>	As. 30:33	<i>o</i>	As. 33:385
<i>e</i>	As. 31:443	<i>k</i>	As. 31:531	<i>p</i>	As. 33:391
<i>f</i>	As. 30:11				

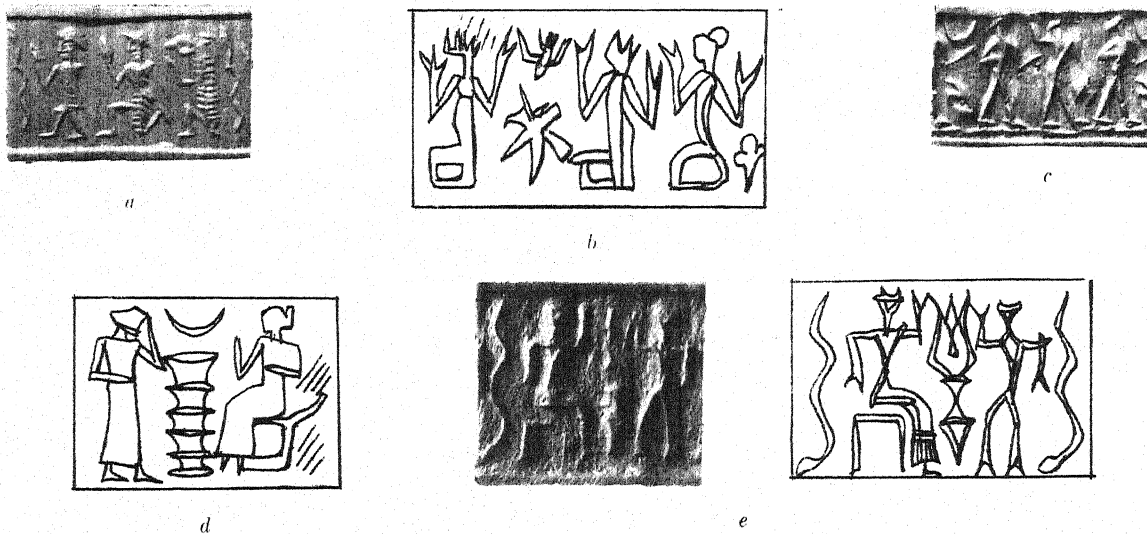


FIG. 104.—FIVE CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS FROM THE TOP LAYER. ACTUAL SIZE

a As. 33:398
b As. 31:334

c As. 31:42
d As. 31:505

e As. 31:613

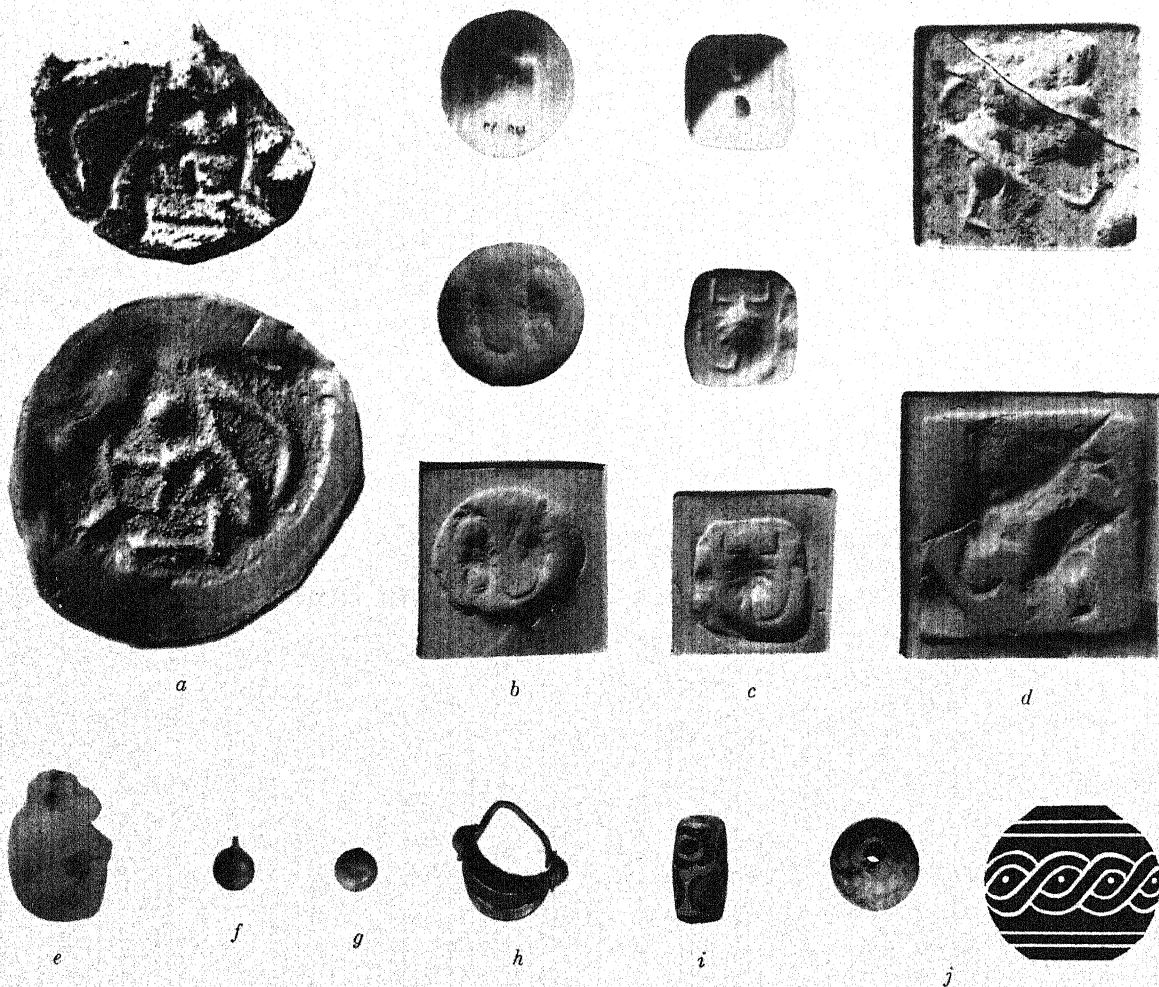


FIG. 105.—A STAMP SEAL, AMULETS, AND ORNAMENTS. ACTUAL SIZE (EXCEPT DRAWING OF ETCHED BEAD AS. 30:27, SHOWN 2:1)

a As. 31:475
b As. 30:70
c As. 30:121
d As. 30:64

e As. 33:324
f As. 31:484
g As. 31:494

h As. 31:200
i As. 30:35
j As. 30:27

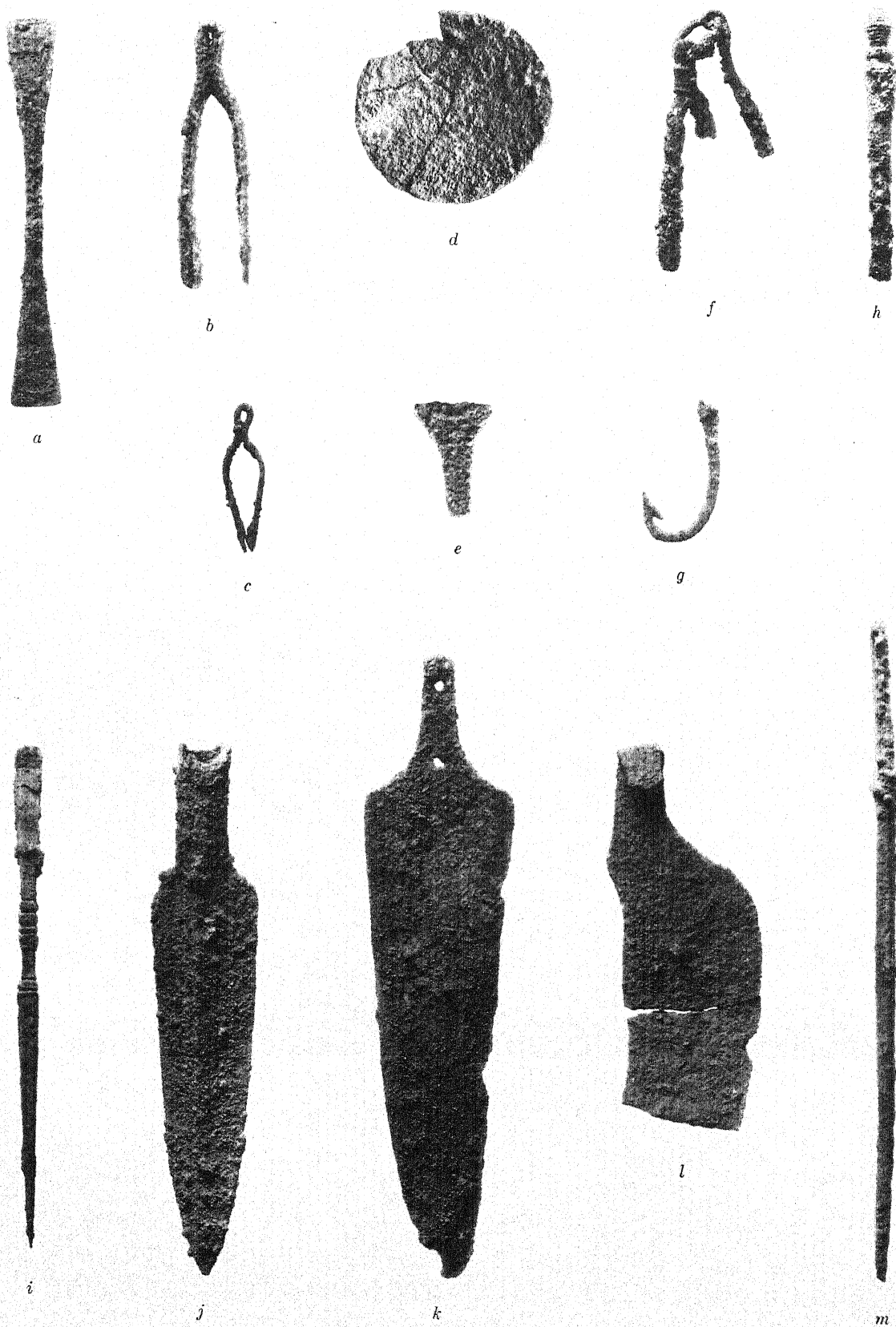
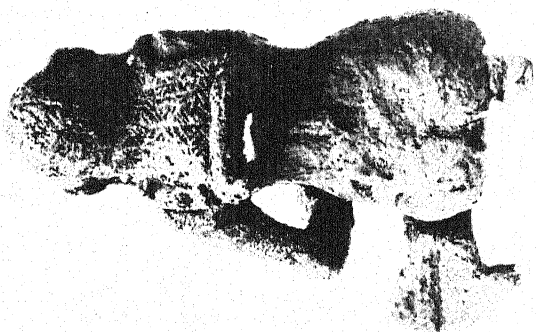
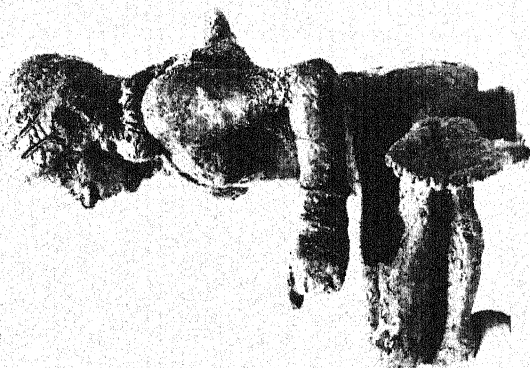


FIG. 106.—METAL OBJECTS. SCALE, 3:5

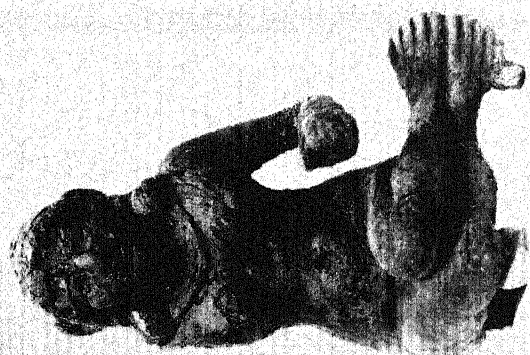
<i>a</i>	As. 31:456 <i>a</i>	<i>f</i>	As. 31:590 <i>a</i>	<i>j</i>	As. 31:482 <i>a</i>
<i>b</i>	As. 31:444	<i>g</i>	As. 31:523	<i>k</i>	As. 31:542
<i>c</i>	As. 31:344	<i>h</i>	As. 31:424	<i>l</i>	As. 31:38
<i>d</i>	As. 31:500	<i>i</i>	As. 31:606	<i>m</i>	As. 31:460 <i>a</i>
<i>e</i>	As. 31:43				



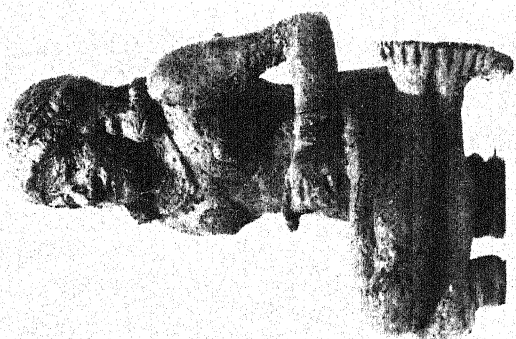
f



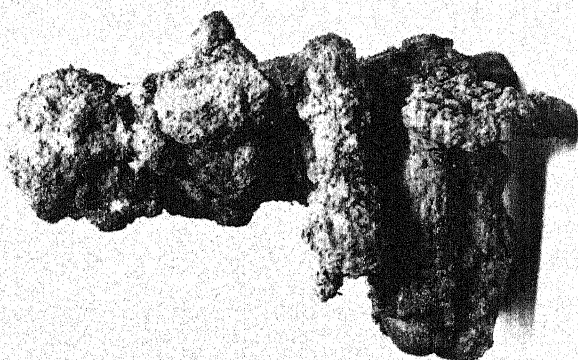
d



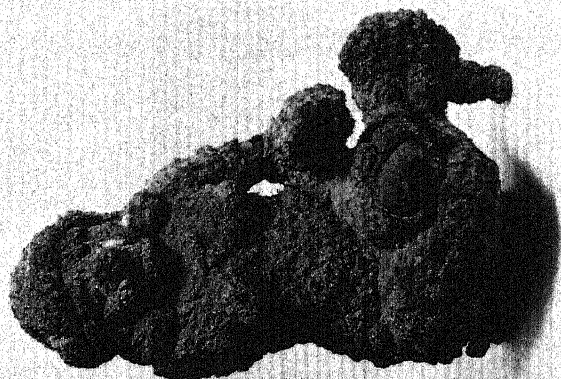
c



e



b



a

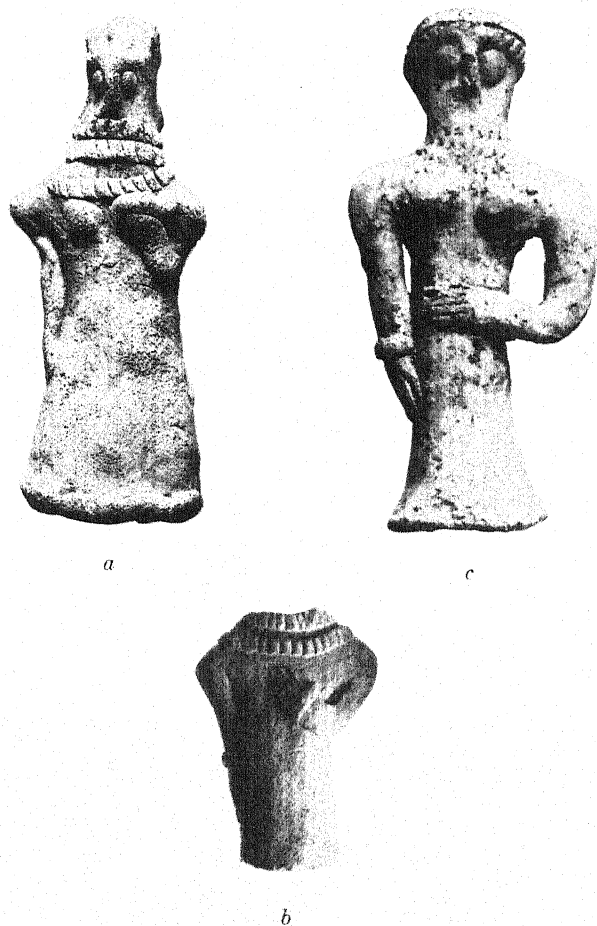


FIG. 108.—FEMALE FIGURINES OF AKKADIAN TYPE.
SCALE, 2:3
a As. 30:47*a* *b* As. 30:95 *c* As. 33:91

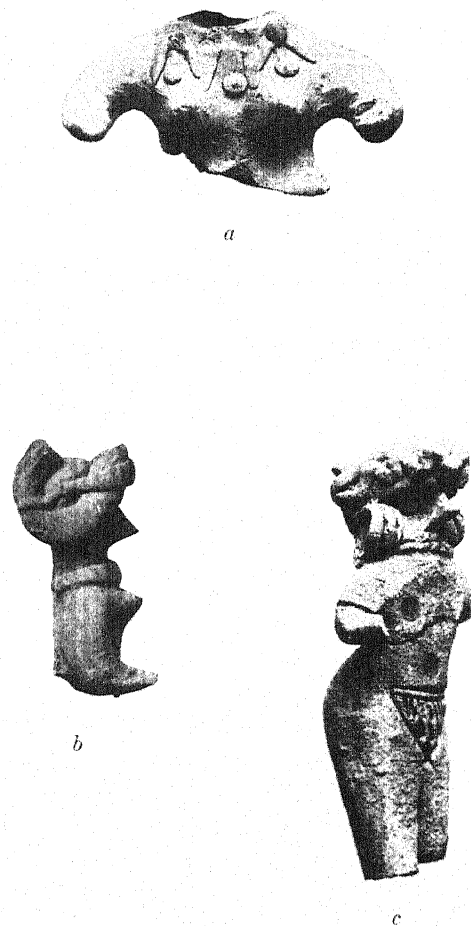


FIG. 110.—FEMALE FIGURINES OF EARLY
LARSA TYPE. SCALE, 2:3
a As. 30:43 *b* As. 31:515 *c* As. 30:49*a*

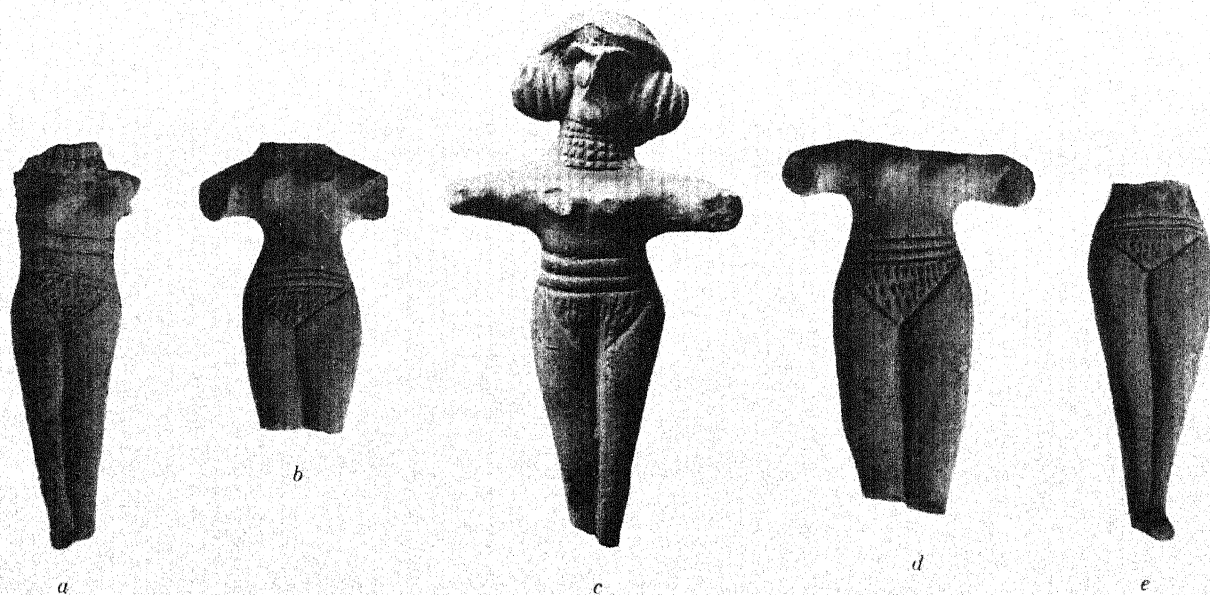


FIG. 109.—FEMALE FIGURINES OF UR III TYPE. SCALE, 3:5
a As. 31:357 *c* As. 33:598 *e* As. 31:330
b As. 31:163*b* *d* As. 31:163*a*

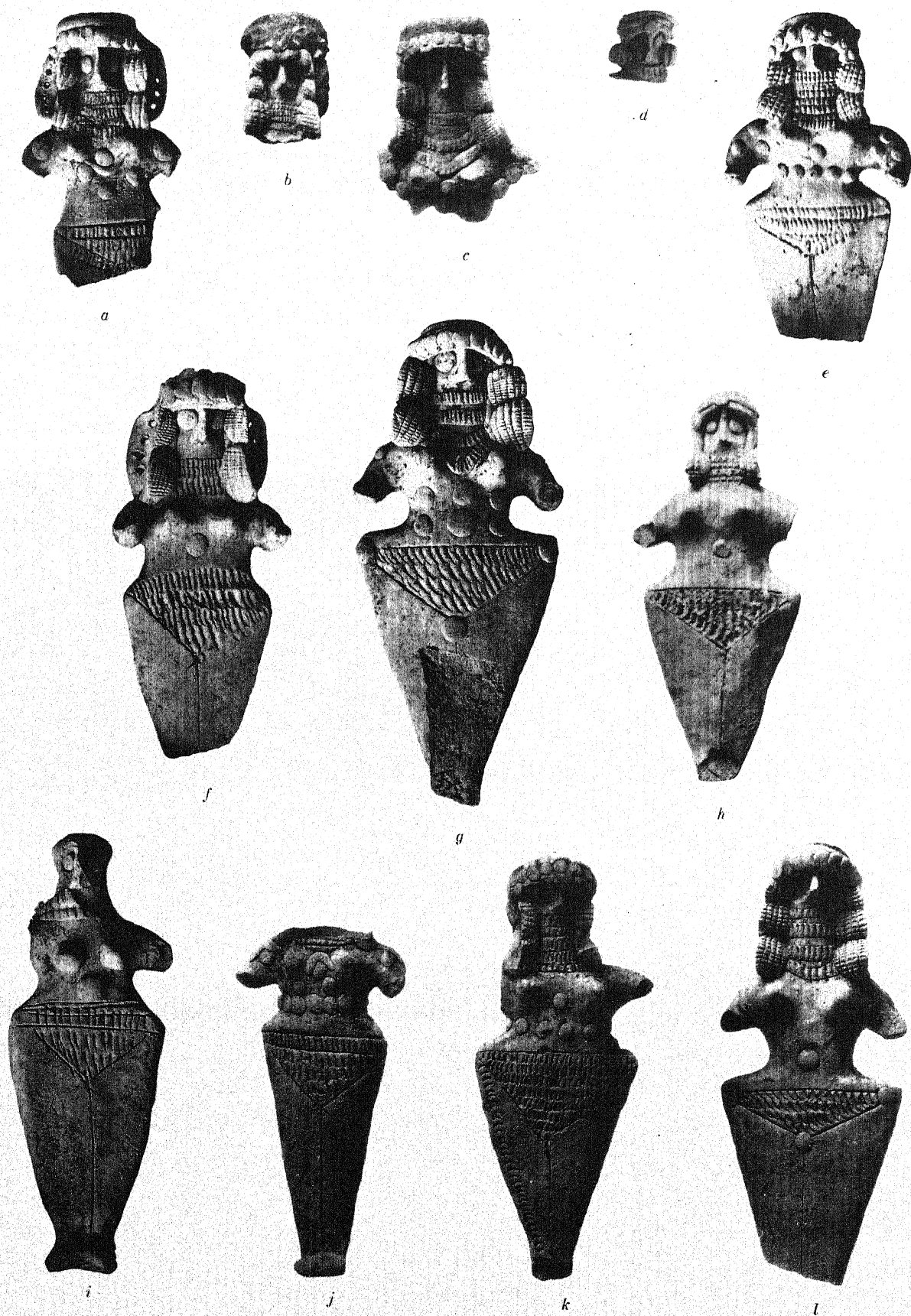


FIG. 111.—FEMALE FIGURINES OF COMMON LARSA TYPE. SCALE, 1:2

<i>a</i>	As. 30:41 <i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	As. 30:44 <i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	As. 30:46
<i>b</i>	As. 31:331	<i>f</i>	As. 30:1 <i>a</i>	<i>j</i>	As. 30:41 <i>b</i>
<i>c</i>	As. 31:360	<i>g</i>	As. 30:45 <i>a</i>	<i>k</i>	As. 31:495 <i>a</i>
<i>d</i>	As. 31:352 <i>a</i>	<i>h</i>	As. 31:415	<i>l</i>	As. 30:45 <i>c</i>



FIG. 112.—FEMALE FIGURINE OF COMMON LARSA TYPE (As. 31:495b). SCALE, 2:3



a

b

c

FIG. 113.—BOW-LEGGED FIGURINES. SCALE, 1:2

a As. 31:329

b As. 30:80

c As. 30:82

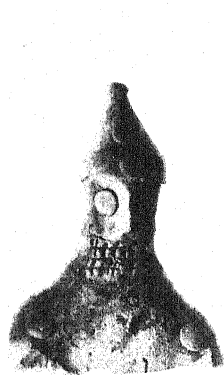


FIG. 114.—MALE FIGURINES. SCALE, 4:5

a As. 31:648
b As. 31:557
c As. 30:94

d As. 31:646
e As. 31:716

f As. 31:647
g As. 31:362



a



b



c



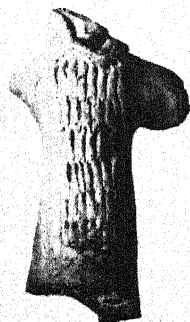
d



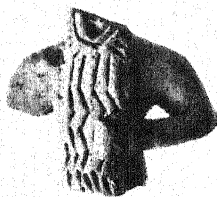
e



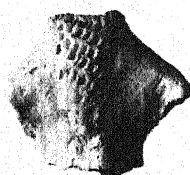
f



g



h



i



j

FIG. 115.—MALE FIGURINES. SCALE, 1:2

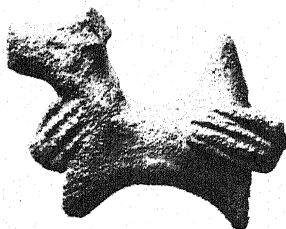
a As. 30:86
b As. 30:61
c As. 31:361
d As. 30:6

e As. 30:56
f As. 30:58
g As. 30:50

h As. 30:83
i As. 30:51
j As. 30:3



a



b



d



c



e



f



g

FIG. 116.—MALE FIGURINES: ANIMAL-BEARERS. SCALE, 4:5

a As. 30:57a
b As. 30:72
c As. 30:52

d As. 30:9
e As. 33:72

f As. 31:721
g As. 31:569

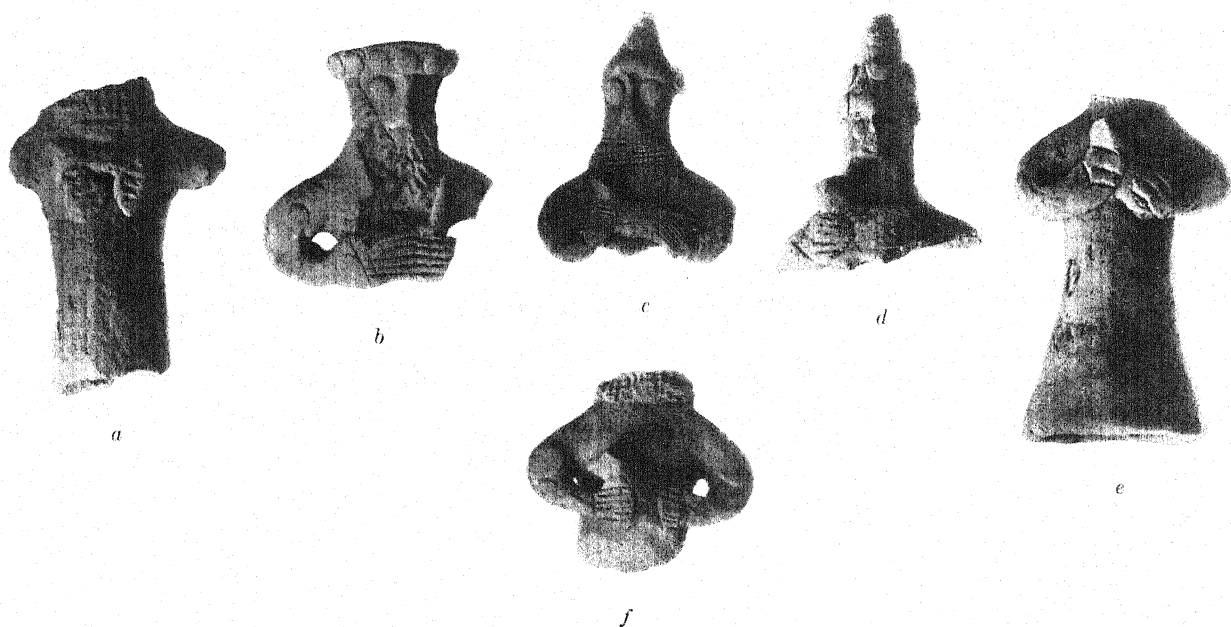


FIG. 117.—MALE FIGURINES: ANIMAL-BEARERS. SCALE, 1:2

<i>a</i> As. 30:92	<i>c</i> As. 30:93	<i>e</i> As. 30:91
<i>b</i> As. 30:88	<i>d</i> As. 30:90	<i>f</i> As. 30:89

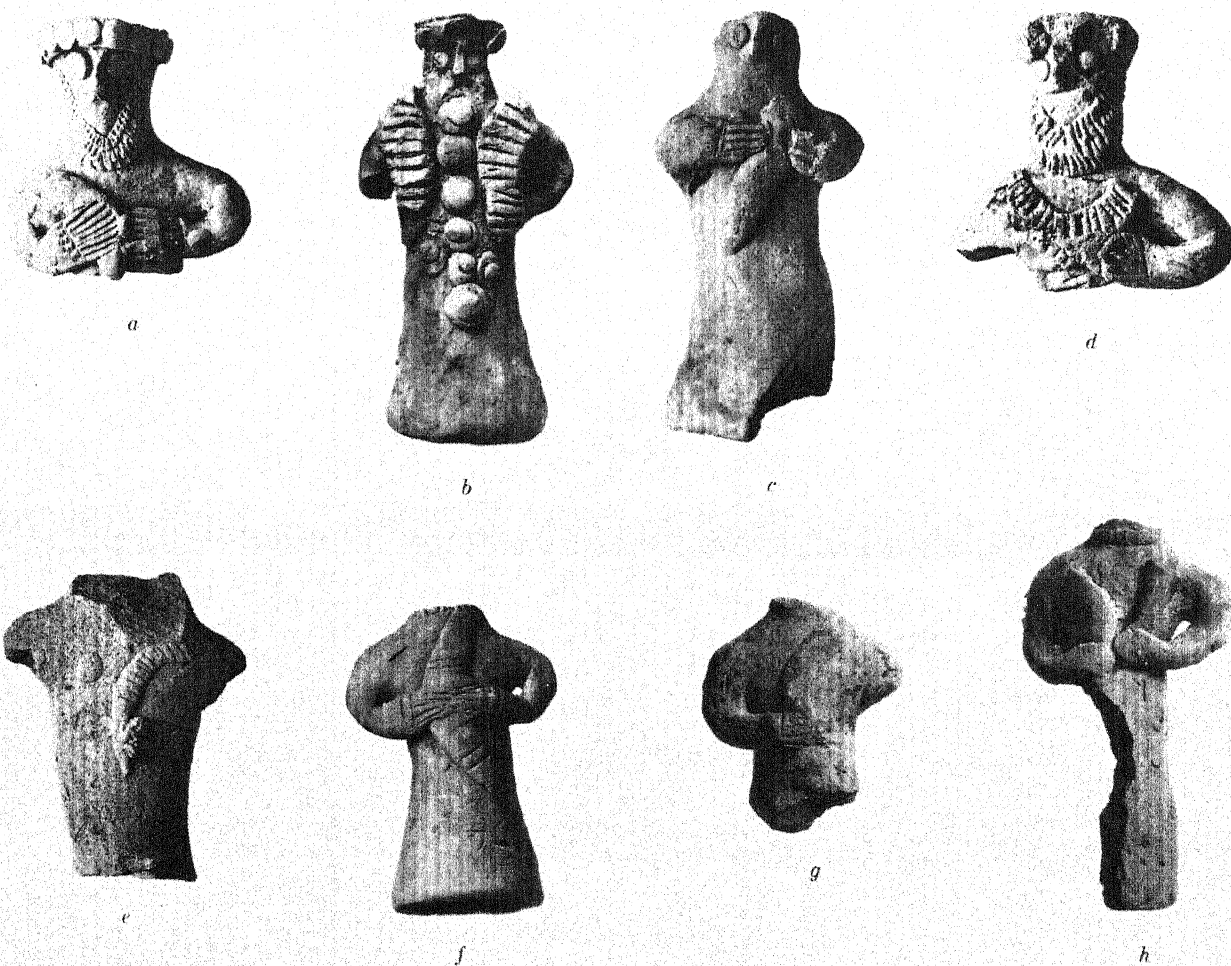


FIG. 118.—MALE FIGURINES: OFFERING-BEARERS. SCALE, 1:2

<i>a</i> As. 30:5	<i>d</i> As. 30:54	<i>g</i> As. 31:75a
<i>b</i> As. 31:920	<i>e</i> As. 30:60	<i>h</i> As. 31:36
<i>c</i> As. 30:55	<i>f</i> As. 31:717	

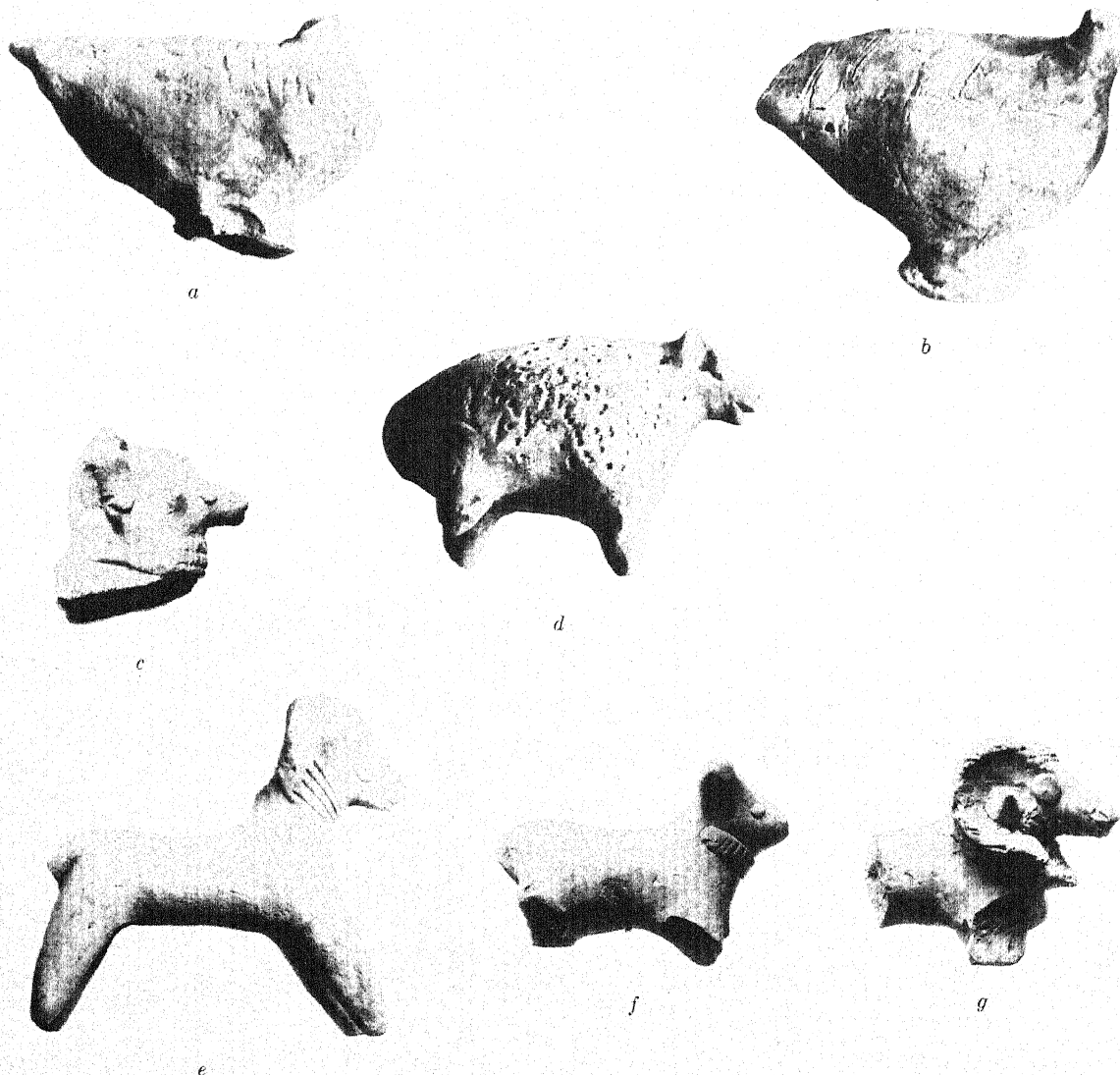


FIG. 119.—FIGURINES OF ANIMALS. SCALE, 1:2

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>a</i> As. 31:437 <i>a</i> | <i>d</i> As. 31:400 | <i>f</i> As. 30:67 |
| <i>b</i> As. 30:31 | <i>e</i> As. 31:28 <i>a</i> | <i>g</i> As. 31:49 |
| <i>c</i> As. 31:367 <i>a</i> | | |

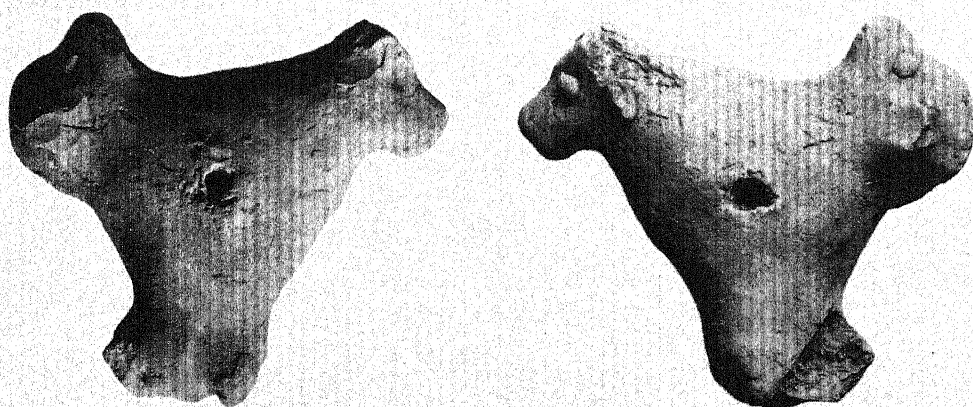
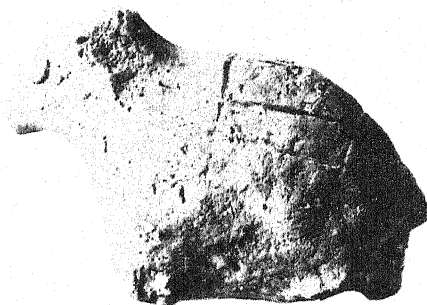


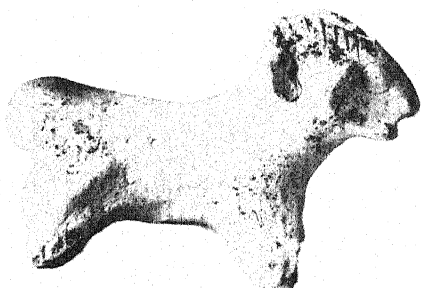
FIG. 120.—OBJECT SHOWING THREE ANIMAL HEADS (As. 30:30). SCALE, 9:10



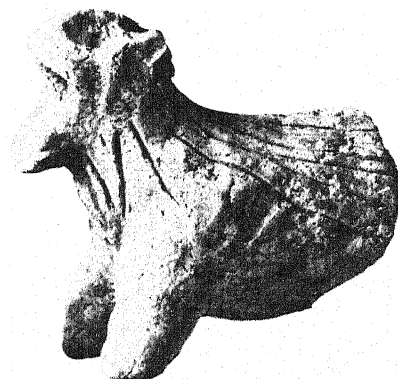
a



b



c



d

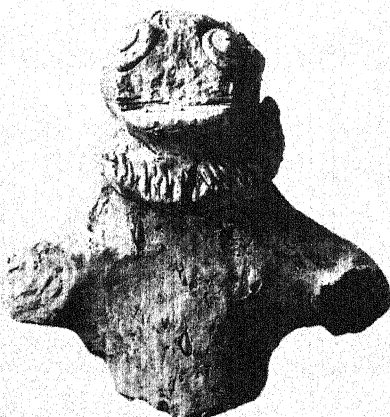
FIG. 121.—FIGURINES OF ANIMALS. SCALE, 2:3

a As. 30:22
b As. 30:66

c As. 30:10
d As. 30:71



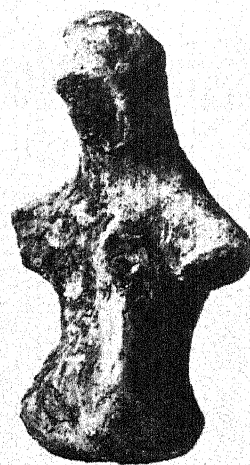
a



b



c



d

FIG. 122.—FIGURINES OF MONSTERS. SCALE, 2:3

a As. 30:12a
b As. 30:69a

c As. 30:68
d As. 30:73



FIG. 123.—BAKED CLAY PLAQUE (As. 31:608). SCALE, 9:10



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIG. 124.—BAKED CLAY PLAQUES. SCALE, 2:3

a As. 31:679
b As. 30:63

c As. 30:62
d As. 31:678

e As. 31:675
f As. 31:680

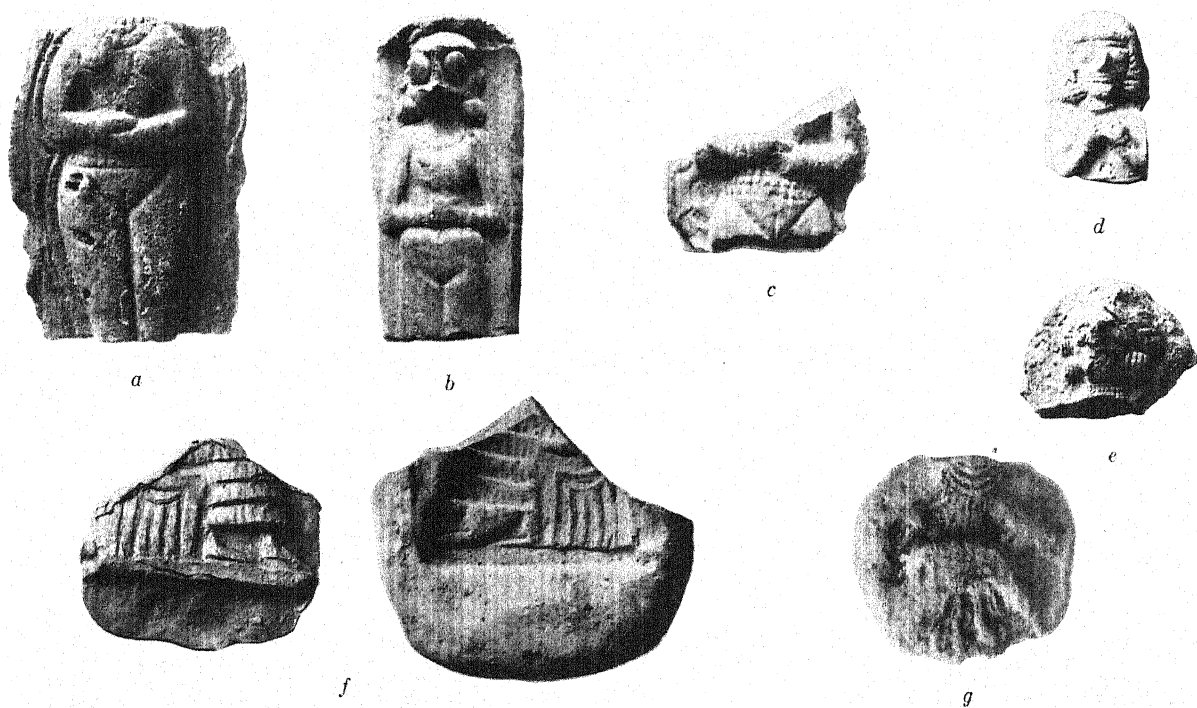


FIG. 125.—BAKED CLAY PLAQUES AND A MOLD WITH MODERN IMPRESSION. SCALE, 1:2

<i>a</i>	As. 31:782	<i>d</i>	As. 31:474	<i>f</i>	As. 31:59
<i>b</i>	As. 31:213	<i>e</i>	As. 30:119	<i>g</i>	As. 30:87
<i>c</i>	As. 31:339a				

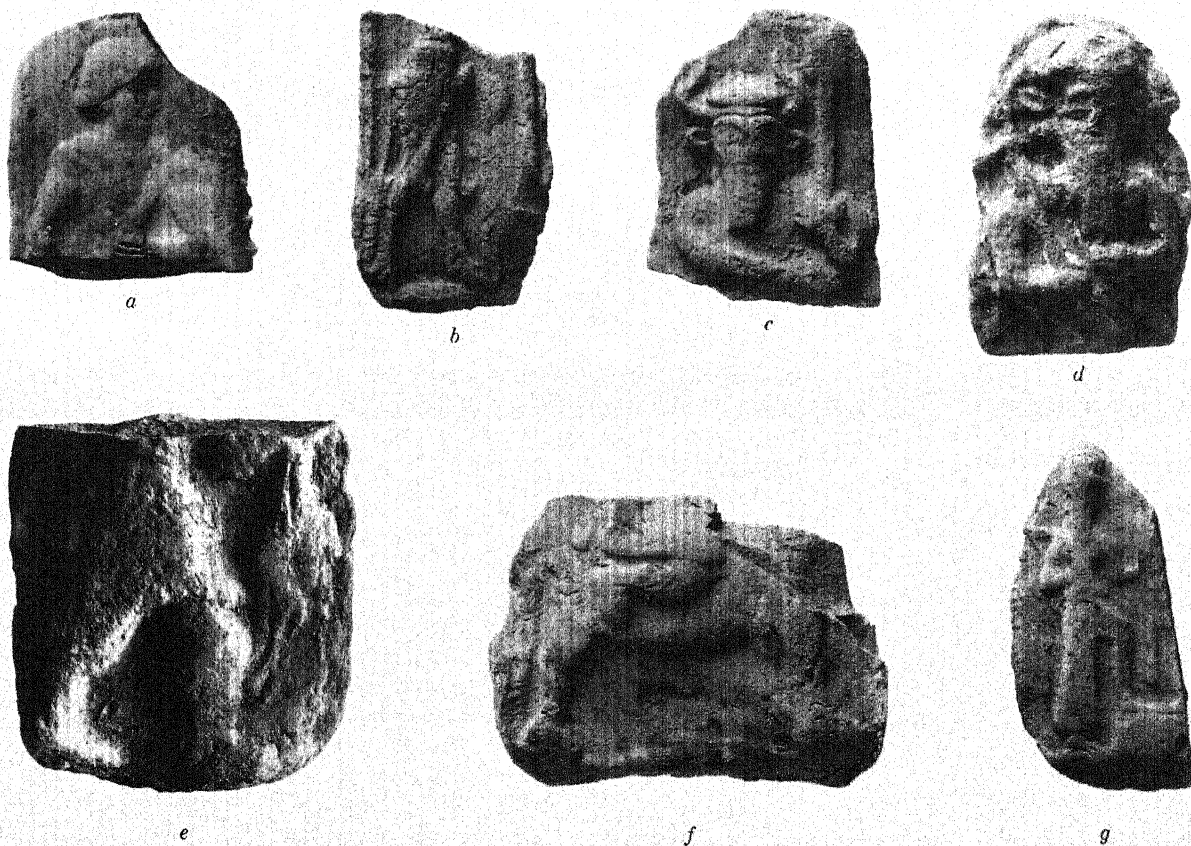


FIG. 126.—BAKED CLAY PLAQUES. SCALE, 3:5

<i>a</i>	As. 30:117	<i>d</i>	As. 30:115	<i>f</i>	As. 31:783
<i>b</i>	As. 30:116	<i>e</i>	As. 31:496	<i>g</i>	As. 30:118
<i>c</i>	As. 30:32				

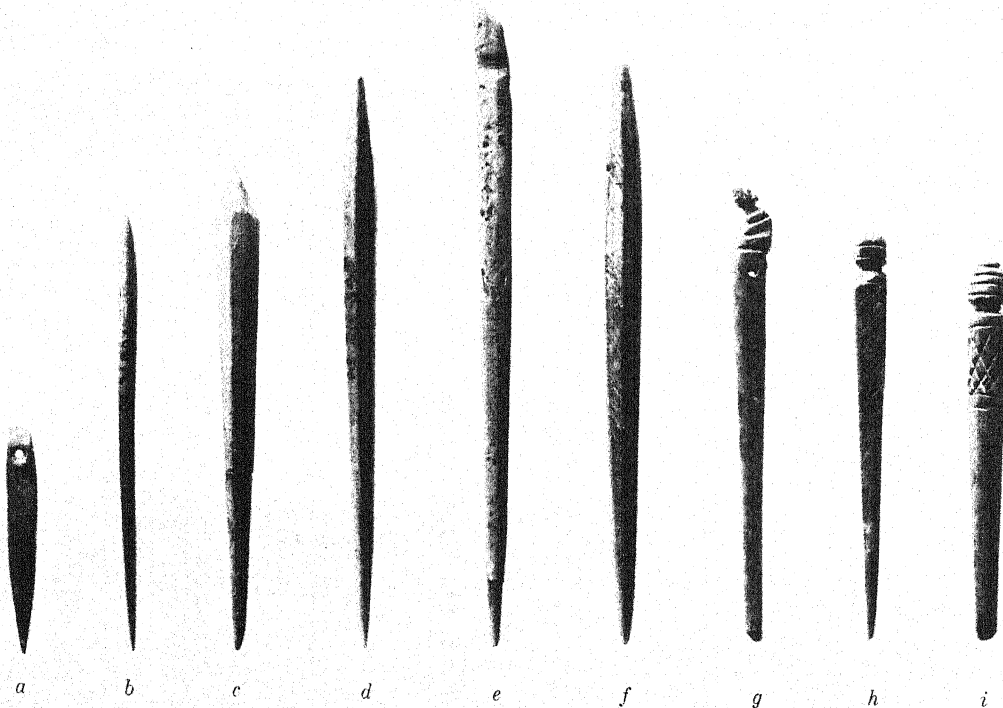


FIG. 127.—BONE PINS AND NEEDLES. SCALE, 3:4

<i>a</i>	As. 31:40	<i>d</i>	As. 31:345 <i>a</i>	<i>g</i>	As. 31:487
<i>b</i>	As. 31:804	<i>e</i>	As. 31:10	<i>h</i>	As. 31:544
<i>c</i>	As. 31:289 <i>a</i>	<i>f</i>	As. 31:272 <i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	As. 31:507



FIG. 128.—INCISED POTSHERD (AS. 34:45). SCALE, 2:3

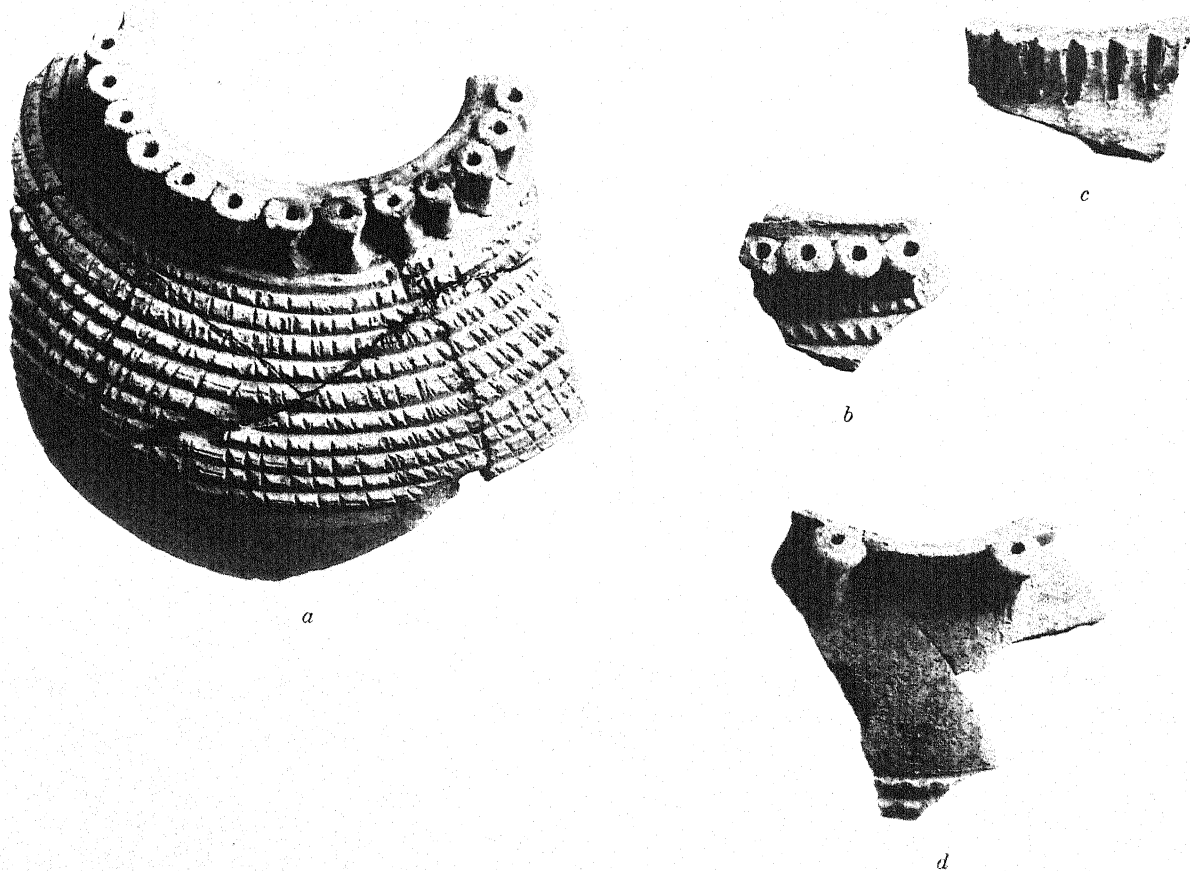


FIG. 129.—RIM FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY VESSELS OF THE LARSA PERIOD. SCALE, 1:3

<i>a</i> As. 31:358a	<i>c</i> As. 31:358e
<i>b</i> As. 31:358c	<i>d</i> As. 31:358f

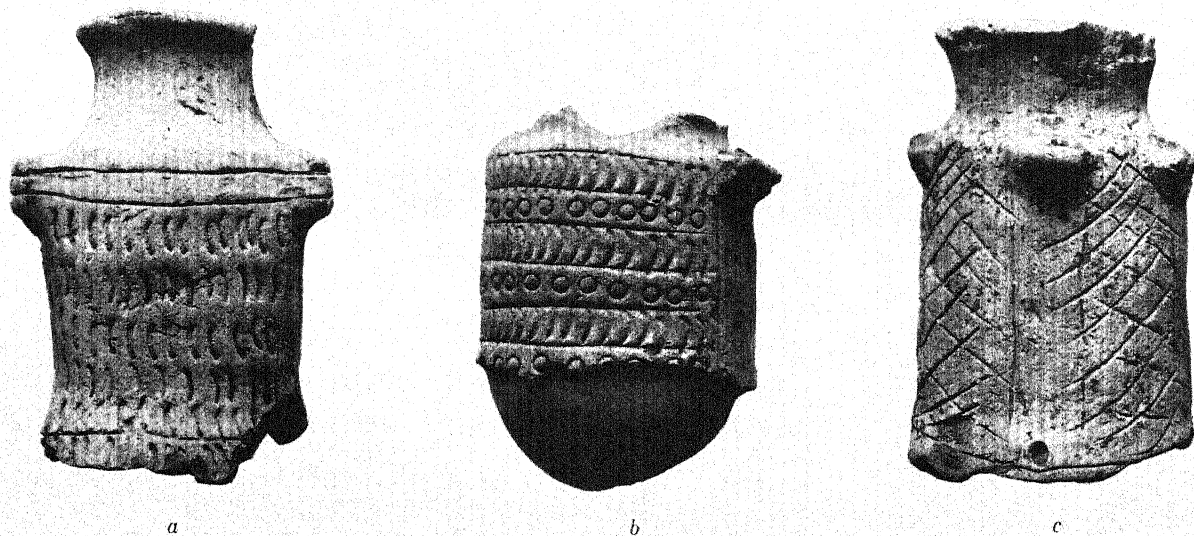


FIG. 130.—FRAGMENTARY VESSELS OF THE LARSA PERIOD. SCALE, 2:3

<i>a</i> As. 30:P.6	<i>b</i> As. 30:P.8	<i>c</i> As. 30:P.40
---------------------	---------------------	----------------------

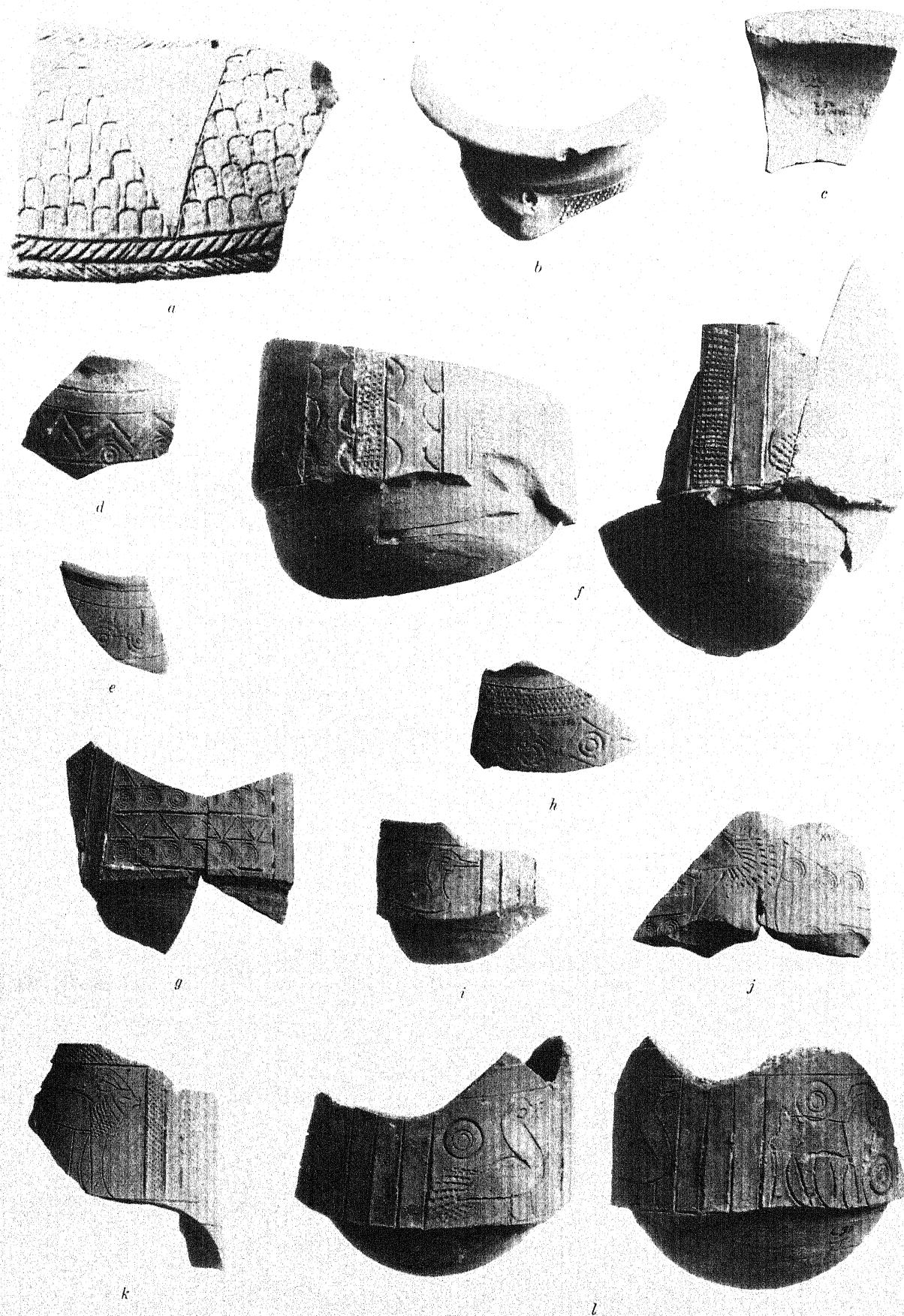


FIG. 131.—INCISED POTSHERDS. SCALE, 1:2

<i>a</i>	As. 31:79	<i>e</i>	As. 30:P.5	<i>i</i>	As. 31:847
<i>b</i>	As. 31:P.85	<i>f</i>	As. 31:P.85	<i>j</i>	As. 31:849
<i>c</i>	As. 31:472	<i>g</i>	As. 31:363	<i>k</i>	As. 30:P.25
<i>d</i>	As. 31:265	<i>h</i>	As. 31:526	<i>l</i>	As. 31:710

- As. 30:2 (not illustrated). Bronze spearhead; 16.6 cm. Similar to As. 30:15 and As. 31:482. Found in O 29:4, top layer. C (A 8612).
- As. 30:3 (Fig. 115 j). Baked clay male figurine, upper part; 8.3 cm. Found in O 29:9, top layer. C (A 8402).
- As. 30:4a (not illustrated). Baked clay male figurine, head only; 4.4 cm. Similar to As. 30:6. Found in O 29:9, top layer. C (A 8384).
- As. 30:4b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:4a. Found at the dump. B.
- As. 30:5 (Fig. 118 a).⁵⁴ Baked clay male figurine, upper part; 5.7 cm. Found in P 29:4, top layer. B.
- As. 30:6 (Fig. 115 d).⁵⁴ Baked clay male figurine, head only; 4.5 cm. Found in P 29, top layer. C (A 8383).
- As. 30:7 (Fig. 102 c). White limestone cylinder seal, much worn; 3.3 cm. A bearded man wearing a loincloth and perhaps a feather crown stands between a stag and a water buffalo, the latter being attacked by a lion. In the remaining space stands a shrub. Found in O 30:4, Urninmar level. B.
- As. 30:8 (Fig. 103 h). Gray stone cylinder seal; 2.2 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holds a cup; in the field appear a snake, a crescent, a star, and a crescent standard decorated with ribbons. Found in M 31:1, surface. C (A 8551).
- As. 30:9 (Fig. 116 d). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, upper portion; 8 cm. Found at the dump. C (A 8370).
- As. 30:10 (Fig. 121 c). Baked clay figurine of animal; 8 cm. Found in O 29:4, Urninmar level. C (A 8459).
- As. 30:11 (Fig. 103 f). Black stone cylinder seal; 1.8 cm. Two worshipers face to the right, one with hands folded and the other with one hand raised; a larger figure, standing before them and facing in the same direction, may be either a human figure used in place of the god's or the god's figure reversed by mistake. In the field appear a snake and a crescent standard decorated with ribbons. Found in M 31:1, top layer. C (A 8586).
- As. 30:12a (Fig. 122 a). Baked clay figurine of monster; 7.5 cm. Found at the dump. C (A 8366).
- As. 30:12b (not illustrated). Baked clay figurine of monster, headless. Found in M 30, surface. B.
- As. 30:12c (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:12b. Found in M 30, surface. B.
- As. 30:15a (not illustrated). Bronze spearhead; 10 cm. Similar to As. 30:2 and As. 31:482. Found in M 31:12, top layer. B.
- As. 30:15b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:15a. Found in M 31:12, top layer. C (A 8614).
- As. 30:15c (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:15a. Found in M 31:12, top layer.
- As. 30:15d (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:15a. Found in top layer.
- As. 30:15e (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:15a. Found in M 32:5, top layer.
- As. 30:22 (Fig. 121 a). Baked clay rattle in form of pig; 9 cm. Found in P 30:1, Ibalpiel I level. C (A 8457).
- As. 30:27 (Fig. 105 j). Red carnelian bead, etched; 1.2 cm. Found in M 31:8, Ibalpiel I level. C (A 8783).
- As. 30:29 (not illustrated). Baked clay plaque, upper part only; 7 cm. Similar to As. 31:782. Found in top layer. C (A 8426).
- As. 30:30 (Fig. 120).⁵⁵ Baked clay object; triangular, with an animal head at each corner and pierced through the center; 7 cm. Found in L 30:1, surface. C (A 8761).
- As. 30:31 (Fig. 119 b). Baked clay figurine of bird, head missing; hollow; 9.3 cm. Found in O 30:17, Bilalama level(?), near drain. C (A 8453).
- As. 30:32 (Fig. 126 c). Baked clay plaque, bull-man with pine-cone(?) standard; upper part only; 4.8 × 6.4 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 30:33 (Fig. 103 j). Brown stone cylinder seal; 1.9 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holds a cup; behind the two worshipers stands a gazelle rampant; in the field before the god are a kid and a crescent. Found in N 30:3, surface. B.
- As. 30:35 (Fig. 105 i). Red carnelian bead, etched; 1.8 × .8 cm. Found in street outside M 32:8, top layer.
- As. 30:37 (Fig. 102 f).⁵⁶ Black stone cylinder seal; 2.4 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god wearing a cap and a long garment and holding a cup receives a similarly dressed worshiper who is introduced by a goddess wearing a horned crown and a long garment. In the field appear a crescent, a snake, a star, a scorpion, and a biconical stand with a palm leaf and two bunches of dates. Found at the dump. C (A 8583).
- As. 30:38 (Fig. 103 n). Amethyst cylinder seal; 1.8 cm. A male deity faces the interceding goddess; between the backs of these figures is a two-line inscription (seal legend No. 68). Found in N 30:3, surface. B.
- As. 30:39 (Fig. 102 h). Black stone cylinder seal, much worn; 1.4 cm. At each side of a biconical stand containing a palm leaf and two bunches of dates appears a figure with one hand raised; between the backs of these figures is an inscription (unreadable). Found in M 31, surface. B.

⁵⁴ Published in *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 17.⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Fig. 18.⁵⁶ Published in *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 15, and in *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1, 1932, p. 504, Fig. 10.

- As. 30:41a (Fig. 111 a). Baked clay female figurine, upper part; 9.4 cm. Found in O 29:9, top layer. C (A 8336).
 As. 30:41b (Fig. 111 j). Baked clay female figurine, headless; 13.3 cm. Found in M 30:3, Ibalpiel I level. C (A 8337).
 As. 30:42 (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine, headless; 11.7 cm. Similar to As. 30:45a. Found in M 30, top layer.
 As. 30:43 (Fig. 110 a). Baked clay female figurine, upper part of body; 3.2 × 6.5 cm. Found in O 30, top layer.
 As. 30:44a (Fig. 111 e). Baked clay female figurine, lower part missing; 10.5 × 6 cm. Found in M 31:6, top layer. B.
 As. 30:44b (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine, lower part missing; 11.5 × 6.4 cm. Found in M 31:6, top layer. C (A 8339).
 As. 30:45a (Fig. 111 g). Baked clay female figurine; 16 × 7.5 cm. Found in P 33:18, top layer. B.
 As. 30:45b (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine; 12 cm. Found in O 30:18, Bilalama level. C (A 8335).
 As. 30:45c (Fig. 111 l). Baked clay female figurine, lower part missing; 16.2 cm. Found in P 34:1, top layer. C (A 8334).
 As. 30:46 (Fig. 111 i). Baked clay female figurine; 14.5 × 5.5 cm. Found in L 31:4, top layer.
 As. 30:47a (Fig. 108 a). Baked clay female figurine; 9.5 × 3.5 cm. Found in O 29:1, below Urninmar level. B.
 As. 30:47b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:47a; 8.6 cm. Found in a sounding in H 27, top layer. C (A 8358).
 As. 30:47c (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:47a; 7.3 cm. Found in N 30:1, top layer. C (A 8359).
 As. 30:47f (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:47a. Found in M 31:1, Ur III level, 1 meter below Ilushuilia pavement near eastern doorway. B.
 As. 30:47g (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:47a. Found in M 31:1, Bilalama level. B.
 As. 30:49a (Fig. 110 c). Baked clay female figurine; lower part missing; 8 cm. Found in O 29:9, top layer. C (A 8345).
 As. 30:49b (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine. Found in N 30:6, Bilalama level.
 As. 30:50 (Fig. 115 g). Baked clay figurine of bearded man, torso and beard only; 7 × 4.5 cm. Found in N 30, surface. C (A 8365).
 As. 30:51 (Fig. 115 i). Baked clay figurine of bearded man, fragment; 3.5 × 4 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8381).
 As. 30:52 (Fig. 116 c). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, torso; 6.5 × 5.8 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8397).
 As. 30:53 (not illustrated). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, upper part; 7 × 8 cm. Similar to As. 30:89. Found in N 31, surface.
 As. 30:54 (Fig. 118 d).⁵⁷ Baked clay figurine of bearded man, upper part; 6.1 cm. Found in O 30, surface. C (A 8403).
 As. 30:55 (Fig. 118 c). Baked clay figurine of man holding sword(?); 9.5 cm. Found in N 29, surface. C (A 8372).
 As. 30:56 (Fig. 115 e). Baked clay bearded head; 2 cm. Found in M 31:11, surface. C (A 8393).
 As. 30:57a (Fig. 116 a).⁵⁸ Baked clay male figurine; 12.4 cm. Found in L 32:2, top layer. B.
 As. 30:57b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:57a. Found in K 31:2, top layer.
 As. 30:58 (Fig. 115 f). Baked clay bearded head; 3 × 4 cm. Found in L 32, surface. C (A 8382).
 As. 30:59 (not illustrated). Baked clay head of figurine; 4 × 2.75 cm. Similar to As. 30:86. Found in M 30, surface.
 As. 30:60 (Fig. 118 e). Baked clay torso; 7.5 × 6 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8395).
 As. 30:61 (Fig. 115 b).⁵⁹ Baked clay figurine of god, upper part; 8.2 × 6.5 cm. Found in N 30, surface. B.
 As. 30:62 (Fig. 124 c). Baked clay plaque, nude female figure; lower part missing; 7.5 × 4.5 cm. Found in N 30:6, Isharramashu level. C (A 8418).
 As. 30:63 (Fig. 124 b). Baked clay plaque, nude female figure; lower part missing; 5 × 2.5 cm. Found in N 31, surface. C (A 8424).
 As. 30:64 (Fig. 105 d). Square stone amulet pierced through center axis, engraved on one side with two scorpions *tête-bêche*; 3 × 3 cm. Found in M 31:6, Ibiqadad I level. B.
 As. 30:66 (Fig. 121 b). Baked clay rattle in animal form; 9 × 5 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8461).
 As. 30:67 (Fig. 119 f). Baked clay animal figurine; 8 × 3 cm. Found at the dump. C (A 8454).
 As. 30:68 (Fig. 122 c). Baked clay figurine of monster; 6 cm. Found in M 32:3, top layer. B.

⁵⁷ Published in *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 17.⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Fig. 16.⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Fig. 17.

- As. 30:69a (Fig. 122 b). Baked clay figurine of monster, upper part; 7.2 cm. Found in M 32, surface. C (A 8364).
- As. 30:69b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:69a; 5 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 30:70 (Fig. 105 b). Limestone amulet, pierced lug on the back; circular base engraved with figures of two scorpions; 2.2 cm. diameter. Found in L 31:4, Bilalama level. B.
- As. 30:71 (Fig. 121 d). Baked clay animal figurine, fragment; 7.5 × 7 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8455).
- As. 30:72 (Fig. 116 b).⁶⁰ Baked clay animal showing hands of bearer; 4.6 × 2.5 cm. Surface, found at the dump. B.
- As. 30:73 (Fig. 122 d). Baked clay figurine of monster; 9 × 6 cm. Found in M 30, surface.
- As. 30:74 (Fig. 103 i). Blue-gray stone cylinder seal, roughly engraved; 2.2 cm. Presentation scene: in the field appear a crescent, a star, and an unidentified object; behind the god stand a tree and a goat rampant. Found in Q 32:1, top layer. C (A 8564).
- As. 30:75 (Fig. 103 b). Green stone cylinder seal; 2.3 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holds a cup; before him is a crescent, behind him are a libra and a snake. Found in O 30:4, top layer. B.
- As. 30:77 (Fig. 102 e). Buff paste cylinder seal; 2.4 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holds a cup; behind the worshiper stands a lion rampant; in the field appears a crescent. Found in Q 32:1, top layer. C (A 8538).
- As. 30:80 (Fig. 113 b). Baked clay figurine of bow-legged man, headless; 9.8 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 30:82 (Fig. 113 c). Baked clay figurine of bow-legged man; 12 cm. Found in a sounding in O 41, surface. C (A 8363).
- As. 30:83 (Fig. 115 h). Baked clay male figurine, torso and beard only; 4.2 cm. Found in a sounding in M 23, top layer. B.
- As. 30:86 (Fig. 115 a). Baked clay male figurine, upper part; 7.2 cm. Found in a sounding in M 23, top layer. C (A 8375).
- As. 30:87 (Fig. 125 g). Baked clay plaque, animal-bearer; fragment; 5.3 cm. Found in P 32, surface.
- As. 30:88 (Fig. 117 b). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, upper part; 6.4 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8371).
- As. 30:89 (Fig. 117 f). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, torso; 4.8 cm. Found in a sounding in O 22, top layer. C (A 8376).
- As. 30:90 (Fig. 117 d). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, head and shoulders; 7.2 cm. Found in N 31, surface. C (A 8399).
- As. 30:91 (Fig. 117 e). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, headless; 9.2 cm. Found in N 30, surface. C (A 8367).
- As. 30:92 (Fig. 117 a). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, torso; 7.6 cm. Found at the dump. C (A 8368).
- As. 30:93 (Fig. 117 c). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer, upper part; 6.7 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8405).
- As. 30:94 (Fig. 114 c). Baked clay head of figurine; 4.5 cm. Found in O 30, surface. C (A 8389).
- As. 30:95 (Fig. 108 b). Baked clay female figurine, torso; 5 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8346).
- As. 30:101a (not illustrated). Bronze dagger blade; 12 cm. Similar to As. 31:542. Found in N 31:7, top layer. C (A 8599).
- As. 30:101b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 30:101a; 6 cm. Found in N 31:7, top layer. C (A 8600).
- As. 30:103 (not illustrated). Bronze spearhead; 8 cm. Similar to As. 31:482. Found in M 32:5, top layer. C (A 8604).
- As. 30:111 (not illustrated). Baked clay figurine of kid, fragment; 5.2 cm. Found in M 31:1, Bilalama level. C (A 8456).
- As. 30:115 (Fig. 126 d). Baked clay plaque, bull-man carrying ax; upper part; 7.5 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 30:116 (Fig. 126 b). Baked clay plaque, bull-man; lower part; 6.5 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8413).
- As. 30:117 (Fig. 126 a). Baked clay plaque, bearded figure wearing turban; upper part; 5.5 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8411).
- As. 30:118 (Fig. 126 g). Baked clay plaque, god mounting steps; much worn; 7.5 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 30:119 (Fig. 125 e). Baked clay plaque (fragment), woman's head; 3 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8408).
- As. 30:121 (Fig. 105 c). White stone pyramidal amulet, pierced near apex; figure of scorpion engraved on base; base 1.8 × 1.8 cm. From Bilalama palace; found at the dump. C (A 8576).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Fig. 16.

- As. 30:123 (Fig. 102 *b*). Gray stone cylinder seal; chipped and much worn; 3.4 cm. A seated god hands palm leaves to a god standing facing him; a third god standing behind the seated figure holds perhaps a bunch of dates; all three gods wear horned crowns; two palm trees are represented. Found in O 30:12, Isharramashu layer.
- As. 30:1000 (Fig. 101 *f*).⁶¹ Lapis lazuli cylinder seal with gold cap; 2.8 cm. A bearded god is seated on a throne; from his shoulders project the head and neck of a dragon (the "lion-bird"); before him stand a priest and an interceding goddess, and the small figure of another goddess is inserted between the enthroned deity and the priest; sun disk within crescent appears in the field. Behind the seated deity is an inscription written in two registers (seal legend No. 12). Probably found in O 30:12, Bilalama level. C (A 7468).
- As. 30:P.5 (Fig. 131 *e*). Sherd of black pottery; 3.5 × 3.5 cm. Incised design of concentric circles and single lines. Found in O 29:2, surface. B.
- As. 30:P.6 (Fig. 130 *a*). Vessel of black pottery; fragmentary; 10 × 6.4 cm. Incised design of horizontal rows of arc-shaped lines. Found in O 29:8, surface. B.
- As. 30:P.8 (Fig. 130 *b*). Vessel of black pottery; fragmentary; 7.7 × 5.7 cm. Incised design of alternate horizontal rows of circles and vertical chevrons. Found in N 29, surface. B.
- As. 30:P.25 (Fig. 131 *k*). Sherd of black pottery; 6 × 6 cm. Incised design of goat in dotted panel. B.
- As. 30:P.40 (Fig. 130 *c*). Vessel of black pottery; fragmentary; 10 × 6 cm. Incised design of crisscross lines. Found in Southern Building, surface.
- As. 31:10 (Fig. 127 *e*). Bone stylus; 11 cm. Found in Q 32:3, top layer. B.
- As. 31:13 (Fig. 102 *j*). Gray stone cylinder seal, chipped at lower edge; 2.8 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holding a cup receives a male worshiper introduced by a goddess wearing a horned crown. In the field appear a crescent and a libra. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 31:14 (Fig. 103 *d*). Green stone cylinder seal; 2 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holds a cup; in the field appear a star and a snake. Found in Q 32, surface. B.
- As. 31:19 (Fig. 101 *a*). Pink stone cylinder seal, much broken; 3 cm. A nude hero wrestles with a water buffalo; behind the hero is a fragment of an inscription (seal legend No. 70). Found in O 30:17, Ilushuilia level. C (A 8544).
- As. 31:28*a* (Fig. 119 *e*). Baked clay figurine of animal with hand of bearer(?); 12.5 cm. Found in Q 33, surface. C (A 8437).
- As. 31:28*b* (not illustrated). Baked clay animal figurine with hand of bearer(?); 10 cm. Found in L 31:1, top layer. C (A 8438).
- As. 31:36 (Fig. 118 *h*). Baked clay figurine of man holding objects, head missing; 10.4 cm. Found in Q 33:11, top layer. C (A 8374).
- As. 31:38 (Fig. 106 *l*). Copper sickle with bent tang; half of blade missing; 9 × 2.5 cm. Found in Q 33:10, top layer. C (A 8602).
- As. 31:40 (Fig. 127 *a*). Bone needle; 4 cm. Found in Q 33:11, top layer. B.
- As. 31:42 (Fig. 104 *c*). Hematite cylinder seal; 1.5 cm. Three figures face to the right; in the field appear a crescent and two obscure marks, one perhaps a gazelle's head. Found in P 34:5, top layer. C (A 8593).
- As. 31:43 (Fig. 106 *e*). Bronze chisel with splayed sides, handle broken off; 3 cm. Found in P 34:1, surface. C (A 8651).
- As. 31:49 (Fig. 119 *g*). Baked clay figurine of ram; half missing; 6 cm. Found in P 33:17, top layer. C (A 8446).
- As. 31:55 (not illustrated). Bronze dagger blade; 16 cm. Found in P 32:2, top layer. C (A 8677).
- As. 31:59 (Fig. 125 *f*). Baked clay mold for plaque of seated female figure; broken; 8 cm. Found in P 32:2, private house level. C (A 8757).
- As. 31:75*a* (Fig. 118 *g*). Baked clay figurine of man holding crescent-shaped object; torso; 6.2 cm. Found in Q 33:11, top layer. C (A 8400).
- As. 31:75*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:75*a*. Found in N 33:3, top layer. C (A 8401).
- As. 31:76 (not illustrated). Bronze bowl; 11.3 cm. wide, 7.5 cm. high. Found in Q 33:14, top layer. C (A 8682).
- As. 31:79 (Fig. 131 *a*). Sherd of black pottery; incised design of stylized mountains; 4 × 5 cm. Found in F 23:1. C (A 8865).
- As. 31:163*a* (Fig. 109 *d*). Baked clay female figurine, headless; 8 cm. Found in a sounding in M 23, surface. C (A 8342).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Fig. 14. Stolen but recovered at once from dealer's hands.

- As. 31:163*b* (Fig. 109 *b*). Baked clay female figurine, headless; 6.5 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8343).
 As. 31:163*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:163*a*; 7.5 cm. C (A 8344).
 As. 31:200 (Fig. 105 *h*). Gold earring; 2 × 1.5 cm. Found in Q 34, top layer, outside the wall. B.
 As. 31:213 (Fig. 125 *b*). Baked clay plaque, nude woman; lower part missing; 8.5 cm. Found in P 32:2, top layer. C (A 8434).
 As. 31:226*a* (not illustrated). Baked clay head of gazelle; 4.2 × 2 cm. Found in O 30:19, top layer. C (A 8444).
 As. 31:226*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:226*a*. Found in M 31:12, Urninmar level.
 As. 31:236*a* (not illustrated). Bone implement, pointed; 13 cm. Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in O 33:16, top layer. C (A 8732).
 As. 31:242*a* (not illustrated). Bronze pin with rolled head; 4.5 cm. Found in P 33:16, top layer. C (A 8692).
 As. 31:242*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:242*a*. Found in M 31:3, top layer.
 As. 31:249*a* (not illustrated). Bronze nail; 3.5 × 2 cm. Found in O 34:1, top layer. C (A 8693).
 As. 31:249*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:249*a*. Found on the surface.
 As. 31:249*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:249*a*. Found on the surface.
 As. 31:265 (Fig. 131 *d*). Sherd of black pottery; incised design of chevrons and concentric circles; 5 × 4.5 cm. Found in Q 32:7, private house level.
 As. 31:270 (not illustrated). Bone needle; 6.2 cm. Found in N 33:2, top layer. B.
 As. 31:272*a* (Fig. 127 *f*). Bone needle; 10.2 cm. Found in N 33:4, top layer. C (A 8723).
 As. 31:272*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:272*a*. Found in N 34, surface. B.
 As. 31:280 (Fig. 101 *b*).⁶² Hematite cylinder seal, much worn; 2.4 cm. A god from whose body rays emanate holds with his left hand the wrist of an adversary sinking upon a mountain, his mace dropped, while the attacking god thrusts his dagger forward with his right hand. At each side is a pair of antagonists, a lion with an aurochs(?) and a man with a goat. Found in O 30:8, Ilushuilia level. C (A 8585).
 As. 31:289*a* (Fig. 127 *c*). Bone implement, pointed; 8.2 cm. Found in N 31:1, top layer. C (A 8724).
 As. 31:289*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in N 32, surface.
 As. 31:289*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in M 34:4, top layer.
 As. 31:289*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in P 32:2, top layer.
 As. 31:289*e* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in P 32:2, top layer.
 As. 31:289*f* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:289*a*. Found in P 33:1, top layer.
 As. 31:290 (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine, middle part; 5 cm. Similar to As. 31:330. Found in O 30:19, Ur III level.
 As. 31:329 (Fig. 113 *a*). Baked clay female figurine; 14 cm. Found in P 33:9, top layer. B.
 As. 31:330 (Fig. 109 *e*). Baked clay female figurine, lower part; 8 cm. Found in P 31:3, Ur III level. C (A 8349).
 As. 31:331 (Fig. 111 *b*). Baked clay head of woman, hair of bitumen; 5 cm. Found in O 30:17, Bilalama level. C (A 8352).
 As. 31:334 (Fig. 104 *b*). Clay cylinder seal, unbaked; 2.6 cm. The coarsely cut design shows three squatting human figures and a star. Found in O 30:20, top layer. C (A 8547).
 As. 31:338*a* (not illustrated). Baked clay figurine, upper part; 4 cm. Found in P 30:5, Ur III level. C (A 8387).
 As. 31:338*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:338*a*. Found in P 31:1, Isharramashu level. B.
 As. 31:339*a* (Fig. 125 *c*). Baked clay plaque, female figure; middle part; 5.5 cm. Found in O 30:19, top layer. C (A 8415).
 As. 31:339*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:339*a*; 7.9 cm. Found in M 33:11, top layer. C (A 8416).
 As. 31:344 (Fig. 106 *c*). Copper tweezers; 4.2 × 1 cm. Found in P 30:5, Ur III level. B.
 As. 31:345*a* (Fig. 127 *d*). Bone implement, pointed; 9.8 cm. Found in N 31:3, top layer. C (A 8722).
 As. 31:345*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:345*a*. Found in N 31:3, top layer. C (A 8730).
 As. 31:351 (Fig. 103 *a*). Gray stone cylinder seal; 2.2 cm. Presentation scene: behind a seated god holding a cup are two snakes; before him are a crescent and a kid; in the field between the worshiper and the sponsor are a star and perhaps a third snake. Found in P 33:18, top layer. C (A 8549).
 As. 31:352*a* (Fig. 111 *d*). Baked clay head of female figurine; 2.6 cm. Found in P 33:18, top layer. C (A 8354).
 As. 31:352*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:352*a*; 2.5 cm. Found in M 31:1 near drain, Nurahum level(?). C (A 8355).
 As. 31:352*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:352*a*; 2.3 cm. Found in P 33:18, surface. C (A 8356).
 As. 31:352*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:352*a*; 2.0 cm. Found in M 30:3, top layer. C (A 8357).

⁶² Published in *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 27.

- As. 31:354 (not illustrated). Bone implement, pointed; 9.4 cm. Found in O 31 outside the corner of the Gimil-sin Temple, Urninmar level.
- As. 31:357 (Fig. 109 *a*). Baked clay female figurine, headless; 9 cm. Found in O 31:5, Ur III level. C (A 8341).
- As. 31:358*a* (Fig. 129 *a*). Sherd of buff pottery; 18 × 12 cm. Tubular design at rim; below, incised design of rows of short straight lines. Found outside south wall of Southern Building. C (A 8871).
- As. 31:358*c* (Fig. 129 *b*). Sherd of buff pottery; 6 × 6 cm. Similar to As. 31:358*a*. Found in N 31:4. C (A 8872).
- As. 31:358*e* (Fig. 129 *c*). Sherd of buff pottery; 9.5 × 6 cm. Rim piece decorated with small tubes or deep cuts. C (A 8873).
- As. 31:358*f* (Fig. 129 *d*). Sherd of buff pottery; 16.5 × 12 cm. Similar to As. 31:358*a*. Found in N 30:3, Ishar-ramashu level. C (A 8874).
- As. 31:360 (Fig. 111 *c*). Baked clay female figurine, upper part; 6.8 cm. Found in P 34:1, top layer.
- As. 31:361 (Fig. 115 *c*). Baked clay male figurine, upper part; 6.5 cm. Found in O 33:16, top layer. C (A 8404).
- As. 31:362 (Fig. 114 *g*). Baked clay head of male figurine; 4.5 cm. Found in P 34:1. C (A 8380).
- As. 31:363 (Fig. 131 *g*). Sherd of black pottery; incised design of alternate horizontal bands of single-line chevrons and of concentric circles; 7.5 × 6 cm. Found in P 32:13. C (A 8259).
- As. 31:367*a* (Fig. 119 *c*). Baked clay fragment of figurine, part of animal with hands of bearer; 5.5 cm. Found in P 32:12, top layer. B.
- As. 31:367*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:367*a*. Found in M 33:10, top layer.
- As. 31:367*c* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:367*a*. Found in O 31:1, top layer.
- As. 31:367*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:367*a*. Found in L 30:1, top layer.
- As. 31:376*b* (not illustrated). Clay figurine of a ram; head only; probably on wheels originally; 5 cm. Similar in type to a wheeled object found in an Akkadian house.⁶³ Found in O 30:17, Bilalama level. C (A 8447).
- As. 31:400 (Fig. 119 *d*). Baked clay rattle in form of animal; 10 cm. Found in N 33:4, top layer. B.
- As. 31:415 (Fig. 111 *h*). Baked clay female figurine; 13.5 cm. Found in O 30:17, Isharramashu layer. C (A 8338).
- As. 31:424 (Fig. 106 *h*). Copper pin with ornamental head, point missing; 6.4 cm. Found in P 33:18, top layer. C (A 8628).
- As. 31:431 (Fig. 103 *c*). Green stone cylinder seal; 2.2 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god wearing a cap receives a crowned goddess introducing a worshiper; in the field are a crescent and a snake. Found in N 33:10, top layer. C (A 8563).
- As. 31:432 (Fig. 102 *d*). Shell cylinder seal, much worn; 1.6 cm. Two pairs of fighting animals are crossed; in the field there is an unintelligible design. Found in N 33:9, private house level. B.
- As. 31:437*a* (Fig. 119 *a*). Baked clay figurine of bird, head missing; hollow; 9.6 × 6.1 cm. Found in M 26:2. C (A 8442).
- As. 31:437*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:437*a*; 8.7 × 5.2 cm. Found in M 34:10, top layer. B.
- As. 31:443 (Fig. 103 *e*). Green stone cylinder seal; 2 cm. Presentation scene; a snake appears in the field. Found in N 33:9, private house level. C (A 8590).
- As. 31:444 (Fig. 106 *b*). Bronze tweezers; 7 × 2.7 cm. Found in N 31:3, Urninmar level. C (A 8687).
- As. 31:454*a* (not illustrated). Bronze nail; 7 cm. Found in N 33:2, private house level. C (A 8696).
- As. 31:454*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:454*a*. Found in M 34:11, top layer.
- As. 31:455 (not illustrated). Bronze dagger blade; 14 cm. Similar to As. 31:542. Found in N 33:2, top layer. C (A 8616).
- As. 31:456*a* (Fig. 106 *a*). Copper chisel, double-ended; 10.4 cm. Found in N 33:10, private house level. C (A 8661).
- As. 31:456*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:456*a*. Found in N 30:3, Bilalama level. B.
- As. 31:460*a* (Fig. 106 *m*). Copper needle; 17.2 cm. Found in O 30:17, Bilalama level. C (A 8647).
- As. 31:460*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:460*a*. Found in F 17, surface. C (A 8648).
- As. 31:463*a* (not illustrated). Copper chisel; 6.7 cm. Found in N 33:2, private house level. C (A 8606).
- As. 31:463*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:463*a*. Found in G 18. C (A 8607).
- As. 31:472 (Fig. 131 *c*). Sherd of black pottery; 5 × 4.5 cm. Incised design of circles. Found in L 30:1, a pit sunk from the Urninmar level. B.
- As. 31:472*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:472; 16 × 7 cm. Found in L 30:1. C (A 8301).
- As. 31:474 (Fig. 125 *d*). Baked clay plaque, female figure; upper part; 5 cm. Found in M 31:1, top layer. C (A 8425).

⁶³ *Ibid.* Fig. 26.

- As. 31:475 (Fig. 105 *a*). Clay stamp seal, pierced; 4 cm. diameter. Found in P 32:2, top layer.
- As. 31:479 (not illustrated). Bronze knife blade; 10 cm. Found in a sounding in M 26:7, 1.70 m. below surface. B.
- As. 31:482*a* (Fig. 106 *j*). Bronze spearhead; 15.2 cm. Similar to As. 30:2, 15, and 103. Found in M 34:2, top layer. C (A 8609).
- As. 31:482*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:482*a*; 20 cm. Found in M 34:2, top layer. B.
- As. 31:484 (Fig. 105 *f*). Gold-foil pendant, lentil-shaped, with loop; 6 mm. diameter. Found in L 33:2, top layer. B.
- As. 31:487 (Fig. 127 *g*). Bone needle with bull's-foot top; 7.5 cm. Found in L 33:2, top layer. B.
- As. 31:492 (Fig. 101 *e*). Alabaster cylinder seal, unpierced; 3 cm. Bears seal legend No. 16. Found in N 34:11, private house level. B.
- As. 31:493 (Fig. 103 *m*). Black stone cylinder seal; 2.8 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god holding a ring and staff is probably Tishpak in the guise of Shamash (cf. As. 30:1000); before him is a disk within a crescent; a worshiper has been introduced by a goddess wearing a flounced robe and a horned crown like those of the god; behind the goddess is an inscription (unintelligible). Found in M 30:1, Ibiqadad I level, in drain. C (A 8582).
- As. 31:494 (Fig. 105 *g*). Gold-foil pendant, lentil-shaped; loop broken off; 6 mm. diameter. Found in M. 31:9, Ibalpiel I level. B.
- As. 31:495*a* (Fig. 111 *k*). Baked clay female figurine; 13.6 cm. Found in O 30:17, in packing round a drain. C (A 8340).
- As. 31:495*b* (Fig. 112). Baked clay female figurine; 15.5 cm. Found in O 30:18, in packing round a drain. B.
- As. 31:496 (Fig. 126 *e*). Baked clay plaque, hunter carrying quarry; lower half; 7.6 cm. Found in O 30:18, in packing round a drain. C (A 8407).
- As. 31:500 (Fig. 106 *d*). Copper pan from pair of scales; 5.1 cm. diameter. Found in M 30:1, Ibiqadad I level. B.
- As. 31:505 (Fig. 104 *d*). Clay cylinder seal, unbaked; 2.6 cm. Coarsely cut adoration scene: a worshiper stands before an altar or offering-stand which is set before a seated goddess; in the field there is a crescent. Found in N 34:12, top layer. B.
- As. 31:507 (Fig. 127 *i*). Bone pin, carved; 7 cm. Found in M 31:1, Urninmar level. C (A 8734).
- As. 31:515 (Fig. 110 *b*). Baked clay female figurine, upper part; 5 cm. Found in M 31:6, 20 cm. below a brick pavement, M 31:7. C (A 8353).
- As. 31:523 (Fig. 106 *g*). Copper fishhook; 3.8 cm. Found in N 34:5, top layer. B.
- As. 31:526 (Fig. 131 *h*). Sherd of black pottery; 5 × 4.5 cm. Incised design of concentric circles within diamonds. Found in M 33:4. B.
- As. 31:531 (Fig. 103 *k*). Clay cylinder seal, unbaked; 2.5 cm. Neatly cut presentation or adoration scene: a seated god holding a cup faces three standing figures, two with folded hands while the leader lifts one hand palm upward; in the field appears a star or rosette. Found in O 33:2, top layer. B.
- As. 31:542 (Fig. 106 *k*). Bronze dagger blade; 18 cm. Similar to As. 30:101 and As. 31:55. Found in N 33:5, 1.30 m. below surface. B.
- As. 31:544 (Fig. 127 *h*). Bone pin, carved head; 7 cm. Found in O 31:1, Ilushuilia level. C (A 8735).
- As. 31:555 (Fig. 102 *g*). Green stone cylinder seal; 2.4 cm. Adoration scene: a seated figure without beard or crown holds a cup and faces a bearded worshiper who raises both hands palm outward; behind the seated figure is a snake, before it are a crescent and a kid; behind the worshiper are a star and a rampant lion. Found in N 33:5, private house level. B.
- As. 31:556 (Fig. 103 *g*). Black stone cylinder seal, much damaged; 1.8 cm. Presentation scene: a standing(?) god holds a cup; in the field appear a crescent standard, a star, and a cross. Found in N 34:8, top layer. C (A 8589).
- As. 31:557 (Fig. 114 *b*). Baked clay figurine of man with sash(?); 11.6 cm. Found north of N 30:11, Ilushuilia level. B.
- As. 31:565*a* (not illustrated). Baked clay plaque, woman's head; broken; 3.8 × 3.9 cm. Found in O 30:18, Ur III level. C (A 8420).
- As. 31:565*b* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:565*a*. Found in L 30, surface. B.
- As. 31:566 (Fig. 103 *l*). Black stone cylinder seal, much worn; 2 cm. Presentation scene. Found in N 33:5, top layer. B.
- As. 31:569 (Fig. 116 *g*). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer; 11.7 cm. Found in M 34:16, top layer. C (A 8362).

- As. 31:573 (Fig. 102 a). Clay seal impression; fragmentary; 2.7×2 cm. A lion standing on its forelegs is being thrown by a human or divine being who places one foot upon the lion's neck and grasps its tail with one hand; a water buffalo standing on its forelegs is attacked by a lion of which one paw is preserved. Found in N 31:1, Bilalama level. C (A 8573).
- As. 31:590a (Fig. 106 f). Bronze vanity set, on ring; 7.2 cm. Found in M 31:9, Bilalama level. C (A 8665).
- As. 31:590b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:590a. Found in M 31:12, Ibalpiel I level. B.
- As. 31:595a (not illustrated). Baked clay female figurine; 11.2 cm. Found in M 30:1 in drain. B.
- As. 31:606 (Fig. 106 i). Copper pin; the stem, square in section, is ornamented in the middle; the head is flat and chisel-shaped, perhaps as the result of damage; 13.5 cm. Found in L 32:2, Urninmar level(?). B.
- As. 31:608 (Fig. 123). Baked clay plaque, male figure with feather crown; upper part; 6.6×6.1 cm. Found in M 32:2, Urninmar level. C (A 8410).
- As. 31:613 (Fig. 104 e). Alabaster cylinder seal; 2.6 cm. Adoration scene: between a seated god(?) and a standing figure there is perhaps a vase with branches; a snake appears in the field. Found in M 32:1, top layer. C (A 8558).
- As. 31:616 (Fig. 102 i). Black stone cylinder seal, much worn and damaged; 2.6 cm. Presentation scene: a seated god wearing a flounced robe and holding a cup receives a worshiper introduced by a crowned goddess; before the god is a crescent, behind him is an inscription (seal legend No. 21). Found at the dump. C (A 8595).
- As. 31:630 (Fig. 100 B). Clay seal impression, fragmentary; another from same seal on As. 31:670 (seal legend No. 6). Found under L 32:2, Ilushuilia level. B.
- As. 31:641 (Fig. 101 d). Green stone cylinder seal, much worn; 2.3 cm. Presentation scene: a seated goddess wearing a flounced robe and holding perhaps a plant receives a worshiper introduced by a goddess; in the field appear a crescent, a goose, and a scorpion. Found in L 31:4, Ur III level. B.
- As. 31:646 (Fig. 114 d). Baked clay head of figurine; 3.6 cm. Found on the surface. C (A 8388).
- As. 31:647 (Fig. 114 f). Baked clay male figurine, upper part; 6 cm. Found in N 33:3, top layer. C (A 8378).
- As. 31:648 (Fig. 114 a). Baked clay head of male figurine, with flat cap; 2.5 cm. Found in P 30:5, among Urninmar foundations. C (A 8390).
- As. 31:670 (Fig. 100 A-B). Clay seal impression, fragmentary; 4.5×4 cm. Another from same seal on As. 31:630 (seal legend No. 6). Found under L 32:2, Ilushuilia level.
- As. 31:674 (Fig. 101 c). Rock crystal cylinder seal; 2.8 cm. Two nude and bareheaded men attack a lion rampant. Probably from M 32:15, Ilushuilia level; found at the dump. B.
- As. 31:675 (Fig. 124 e). Baked clay plaque, bearded figure carrying ax; upper part; 5 cm. Found in N 30:1 in a drain sunk from the Bilalama level. C (A 8435).
- As. 31:678 (Fig. 124 d). Baked clay plaque, figure carrying throwing stick; upper part; 5.4 cm. Found in P 30:5, Ur III level. C (A 8430).
- As. 31:679 (Fig. 124 a). Baked clay plaque, figure of a woman, dressed in a flounced skirt and a necklace, lying on a bed; 8 cm. Found in M 32:18, Ilushuilia level. C (A 8406).
- As. 31:680 (Fig. 124 f). Baked clay plaque, hunter carrying quarry; lower part; 7 cm. Found in M 32:18, Ilushuilia level. B.
- As. 31:710 (Fig. 131 l). Two sherds of black pottery; incised design of bird and ram; 10×6 cm. Found in L 30:1, a pit sunk from Urninmar level. B.
- As. 31:716 (Fig. 114 e). Baked clay male figurine, head missing; 7.5 cm. Found in L 32:1, top layer. B.
- As. 31:717 (Fig. 118 f). Baked clay figurine of man holding crescent-shaped object; head missing; 7.5 cm. Found in L 30:1, surface. C (A 8373).
- As. 31:721 (Fig. 116 f). Baked clay figurine of animal-bearer; 7.5 cm. Found on the surface. B.
- As. 31:782 (Fig. 125 a). Baked clay plaque, nude woman wearing necklace and girdle; middle part; 8.6 cm. Found south of O 31:2 in Ur III level below the *kisū* of the Gimilsin Temple. C (A 8432).
- As. 31:783 (Fig. 126 f). Baked clay plaque, beast and rider; upper part missing; 8.5×6.2 cm. Found in M 31:23, Ur III level(?). B.
- As. 31:803 (not illustrated). Bone implement, pointed; 11.5 cm. Found in L 30:1, top layer. C (A 8729).
- As. 31:804 (Fig. 127 b). Bone implement, pointed; 7.5 cm. Found in Southern Building, top layer. B.
- As. 31:816a (not illustrated). Ostrich shell fragment; 3×3.4 cm. Found in O 30:17.⁶⁴ C (A 8742).
- As. 31:816b (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:816a. Found in O 30:17.⁶⁴ B.
- As. 31:816c (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:816a. Found in P 31:3.⁶⁴ B.

⁶⁴ These shell fragments, As. 31:816a-d, were found in various levels.

- As. 31:816*d* (not illustrated). Similar to As. 31:816*a*. Found in P 30:3.⁶⁴ C (A 8864).
- As. 31:830 (not illustrated). Eleven knuckle bones and 17 bone pins. Found in L 30:1, a pit sunk from the Urninmar level. C (A 8928-38 and A 8939-55).
- As. 31:847 (Fig. 131 *i*). Sherd of black pottery; 5.6 × 5 cm. Incised design shows a duck. Found in L 30:1, a pit sunk from the Urninmar level. C (A 8261).
- As. 31:849 (Fig. 131 *j*). Sherd of black pottery; 7.5 × 4.5 cm. Incised design shows an animal and concentric circles. Found in Bilalama building in K 31. C (A 8263).
- As. 31:920 (Fig. 118 *b*). Baked clay figurine of man holding a crescent-shaped object on each shoulder; 11 cm. B.
- As. 31:P.85 (Fig. 131 *b* and *f*). Rim and other fragments of black pottery vessel; height of assembled fragments, 15 cm. Incised design is composed of panels, one inclosing a bird and rosettes. Found in M 26:4. C (A 8251).
- As. 33:72 (Fig. 116 *e*). Baked clay figurine of an animal-bearer; 10.3 cm. Found in the top layer of a sounding in K 44 together with vessels of type 8 (Pl. XIX), type 50 (Pl. XX), and type 43 (Pl. XX). C (A 17136).
- As. 33:91 (Fig. 108 *c*). Baked clay female figurine; 10.3 cm. Found in J 21:23, Level V *a*, private houses. B.
- As. 33:322 (Fig. 107).⁶⁵ Bronze figure of a nude seated woman; 6.7 × 4.7 cm. Both feet are on the left; the right arm is missing. She wears a multiple necklace and bracelets, and the plaiting of the hair is shown by engraving. At her back is a horizontal ledge; beneath the feet is a bronze peg, and there are traces of a similar peg beneath the right thigh. These three projections are evidently attachments, indicating that the figurine was part of a larger object, perhaps the handle of a vessel. Provenience unknown; stolen and recovered. B.
- As. 33:324 (Fig. 105 *e*). Crystal amulet in form of a monkey; 2.1 × 1.5 cm. Found in Q 27, surface. B.
- As. 33:361 (Fig. 96). Fragment of white limestone stela; 20.7 × 13.6 cm. Found south of P 27:3, surface. C (A 17145).
- As. 33:372 (not illustrated). Gray stone cylinder seal, chipped; 2 cm. Five lines of inscription (seal legend No. 47). Found at the dump from the old palace.
- As. 33:385 (Fig. 103 *o*). Lapis lazuli cylinder seal; 2 cm. A bearded god wearing a turban and a shawl receives a beardless worshiper. In the field are a star within a crescent and a libra; behind the worshiper is an inscription (seal legend No. 69). Found in P 27:8, surface. B.
- As. 33:391 (Fig. 103 *p*). Gray stone cylinder seal, much worn; 1.7 cm. A seated god wearing a turban and a flounced robe receives two worshipers similarly clad; in the field are a crescent, a libra, and an indefinite design. Found in O 28:3, surface.
- As. 33:398 (Fig. 104 *a*). Black stone cylinder seal; 1.8 cm. Behind a standing figure are a kneeling figure, an animal, and a snake. Found in Q 27, surface.
- As. 33:399 (Fig. 99). Pink stone object, use unknown; 13.5 × 6 cm. Found in P 26:2, top layer. B.
- As. 33:598 (Fig. 109 *c*). Baked clay female figurine; 11.3 cm. Found in J 23:1, top layer.
- As. 34:45 (Fig. 128). Sherd of black pottery; 9 × 8.2 cm. Incised figure of man. Found in L 30:1, a pit sunk from the Urninmar level. C (A 17156).
- As. 35:34 (not illustrated). Shell cylinder seal, broken; 1.6 cm. Remains of two standing figures, one on each side of a panel with three lines of inscription. Found on the surface.

⁶⁵ Published in *OIC* No. 19, Fig. 5.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAPTER V

^{35a} In *Syria* XX (1939) 99 Dossin refers to a fragmentary tablet from Maeri which mentions both Dadusha and Shamshiadad but which unfortunately does not give precise evidence as to their relation in time.

^{62a} Probably the letter from Maeri quoted by Jean in *RA* XXXV (1938) 112 refers to events of these years. It states that "*Išme-Da-gan* avec l'homme d'Ešnunna est entré à *Ra-ša-ba-a^{ki}*," indicating co-operation between Assur and Ešnunna.

^{106a} See Dossin in *Syria* XIX (1938) 121 f. A letter from Yashsidagan to *Sa-am-me-e-tar*, governor of Suhi, states: (19) *ù as-sù-ur-ri ilumtum a-i id-di-in ša-bu-um awilEš-nun-na^{ki} | (20) i-ša-ar-ru-š[a-am-ma a-na a-aš Pu-ra-a[t-tim] | a-na e-li-e-im pa-nam i-ša-ak-ka-n[u]*, "Et peut-être—que le dieu ne le permette pas!—les soldats d'Ešnunak (20) voudront-ils se livrer au brigandage(?) et auront-ils l'intention de 'monter' vers les bords de l'Euphrate." The same letter states further: (38) *la-ma Ra-pi-qa-am-ma^{ki} [i-k]a-aš-ša-dam | a-na še-er šarrim ki-a-am šu-up-ra-am [u]m-ma at-ta-a-ma | (40) ša-bu-um awilEš-nun-na^{ki} ik-ta-aš-dam be-li a-la-ka-m li-pu-ša-am | an-ni-tam a-na še-er šarrim šu-up-ra-am-ma la-ma ša-bu-um (awil)Eš-nun-na^{ki} | a-na a-aš Pu-ra-at-tim i-ša-ab-ba-tu | šarrum qa-du-um Ha-nameš ù ša-bi-im ka-[l]i-šu a-na a-aš Pu-ra-at-tim li-ik-šu-dam-ma hi-[i-l]um la ib-ba-[aš-ši]*, "Avant même que (les soldats d'Ešnunak) n'atteignent Rapiqum, écris au roi comme il suit: (40) 'Les soldats d'Ešnunak sont arrivés, que mon seigneur se mette en route!' Écris cela au roi et avant que les soldats d'Ešnunak ne pillent les bords de l'Euphrate, que le roi avec les *Hana* et toutes ses troupes arrive aux bords de l'Euphrate et qu'il n'y ait pas de faute!" Another(?) letter reads: (5) *Waraš Ki-is-ki-si UD 6 [KAM] | mâr A-ḥu-ši-na | qa-du-um 6 li-mi ša-bi-[im] | awilimeš Eš-nun-na^{ki} | a-na [H]a-ar-bi-eki ik-šu-dam | (10) um-ma-a-mi a-na la-we-e | A-ia-bi-iki ù Ia-ab-li-ia^{ki} | pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu*, "Au mois de *Kiskisum*, le 6^e jour, le fils d'Aḥušina a atteint Harbi'e avec six mille hommes d'Ešnunak. On dit qu'il a l'intention d'investir Ayabî et Iabliya."

^{106b} See the interesting letter from Maeri quoted by Dossin in *Syria* XIX 120: (6) *aš-šum te-em ma-a-at^{ki} Eš-nun-na^{ki} | ša be-li a-na Ha-am-mu-ra-pi iš-pu-ra-am | um-ma-a-mi šum-ma awilimeš awilEš-nun-na^{ki} | [i]m-gu-ru-ka at-ta-a-ma šar-ru-ut ma-a-at^{ki} | (10) [Eš]-nun-na^{ki} e-pu-uš ù šum-ma ú-ul im-gu-ru-ka | awilma-da-ra-am ša ma-aḥ-ri-ka wa-aš-bu | [a-na] ša[r]-ru-ti-šu-nu šu-ku-u[n] an-ni-tam be-li | [a-n]a Ha-am-mu-ra-pi iš-pu-ur da-am-qí-iš [be-li] an-ni-tam iš-pu-ur-šum*, "Au sujet du message relatif au pays d'Ešnunak que mon seigneur a envoyé à Hammurapi en ces termes: 'Si les princes d'Ešnunak t'agrément, toi donc, exerce la royauté sur le pays (10) d'Ešnunak. Et s'ils ne t'agrément pas, établis le . . . , qui se trouve chez toi, pour régner sur eux.' Voilà ce qu'a écrit mon seigneur à Hammurapi. Il est excellent que mon seigneur lui ait écrit cela." The letter shows Ešnunna kingless and altogether at the mercy of Hammurabi, as might be assumed after the unsuccessful wars. This letter can hardly date but from the years between Hammurabi 31, the year when the last campaign against Ešnunna mentioned in the date formulas probably took place, and Hammurabi 34, which probably represents the year when Maeri was destroyed.

INDEXES

INDEX OF LOCI

This index gives the locus numbers mentioned in this volume, page and plan references for the architectural remains, and lists of the finds which are cited. Detailed references for the objects and the inscriptional material may be found in the Catalogue of Objects, pages 214 and 235-43, and in the Index of Field Numbers. In the area of the Southern Building the locus numbers used are those of the rooms in the private houses below, although it is often impossible to tell whether the object in question belonged to the palace level or that below; in such cases the term "top layer" describes the level.

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K 31:1	Bilalama (top layer)	63	Pl. III		As. 30:T.225, T.266, T.390-91, T. 396, T.410, T.413, T.425, T.427, T.430, T.432, T.451-53, As. 31:T.413, T.528
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Under L 31:2 (i.e., in L 31:3 or 15)	Bilalama level		Pl. III		As. 31:T.412, T.472, T.537, T.557
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L 31:5 (below L 32:1)	Bilalama level or lower	40 f., 59 f., 62	Pls. II, III		As. 30:T.284, T.290, T.292, T.372, T.379-80, T.420
L 31:6 (drain sunk in L 30:2)	Bilalama level		Pl. III		As. 31:T.310
L 31:7	Bilalama level	60	Pl. III		As. 30:T.440
L 31:8	Bilalama level	62, 75 f.	Pl. III		
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M 30:4	Bilalama level		Pl. III		
M 30:4	lower than Bilalama level	46	Pl. II		
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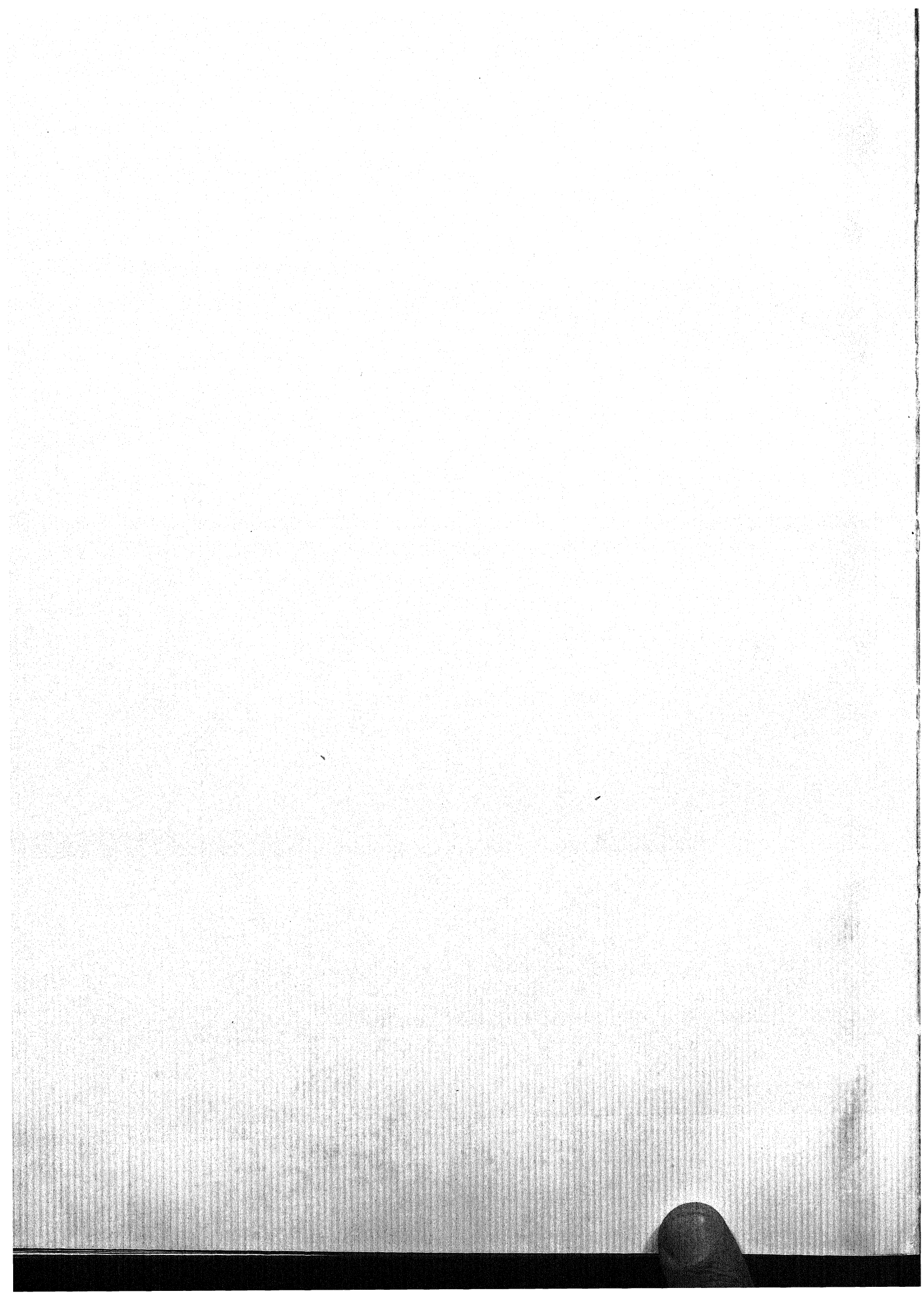
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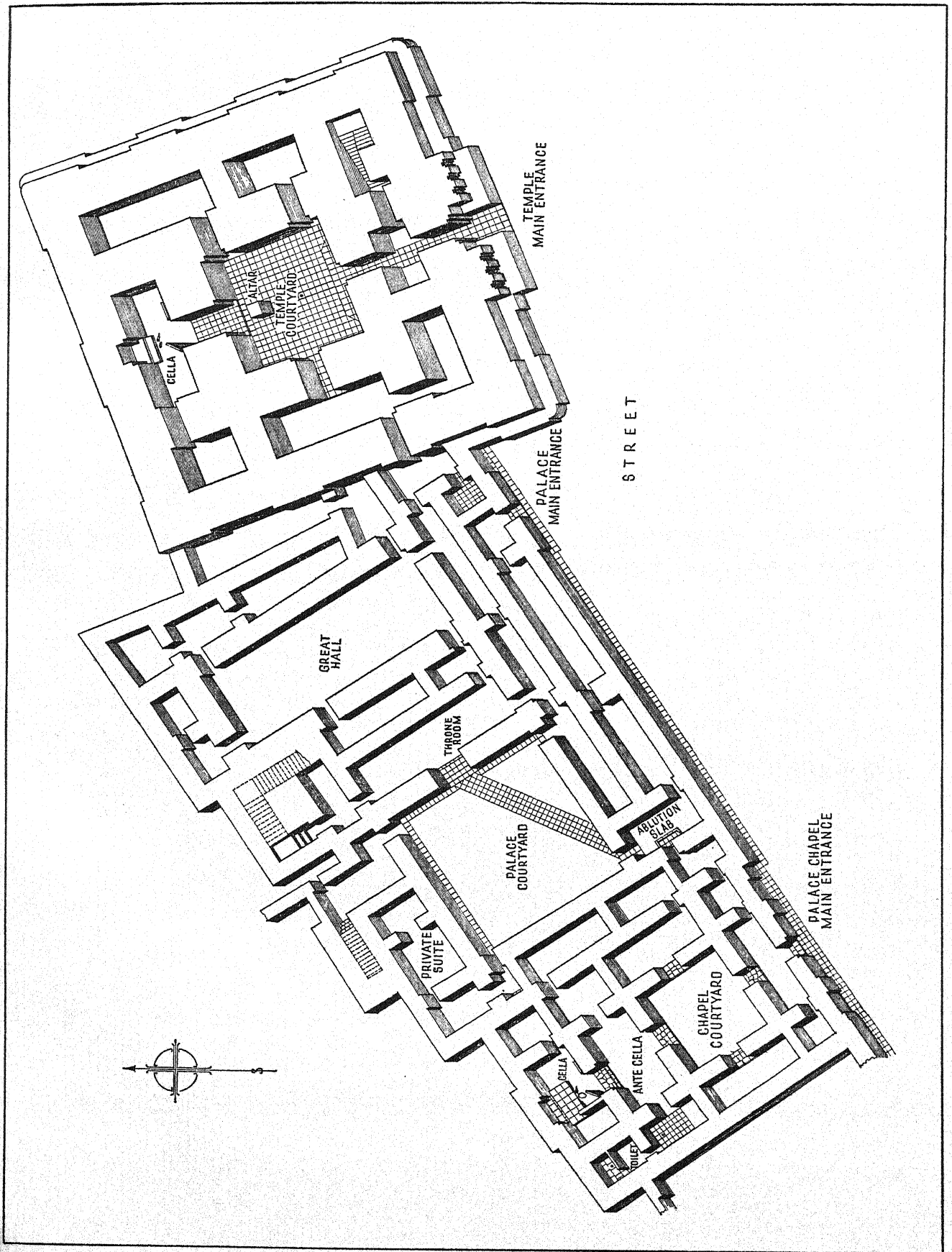
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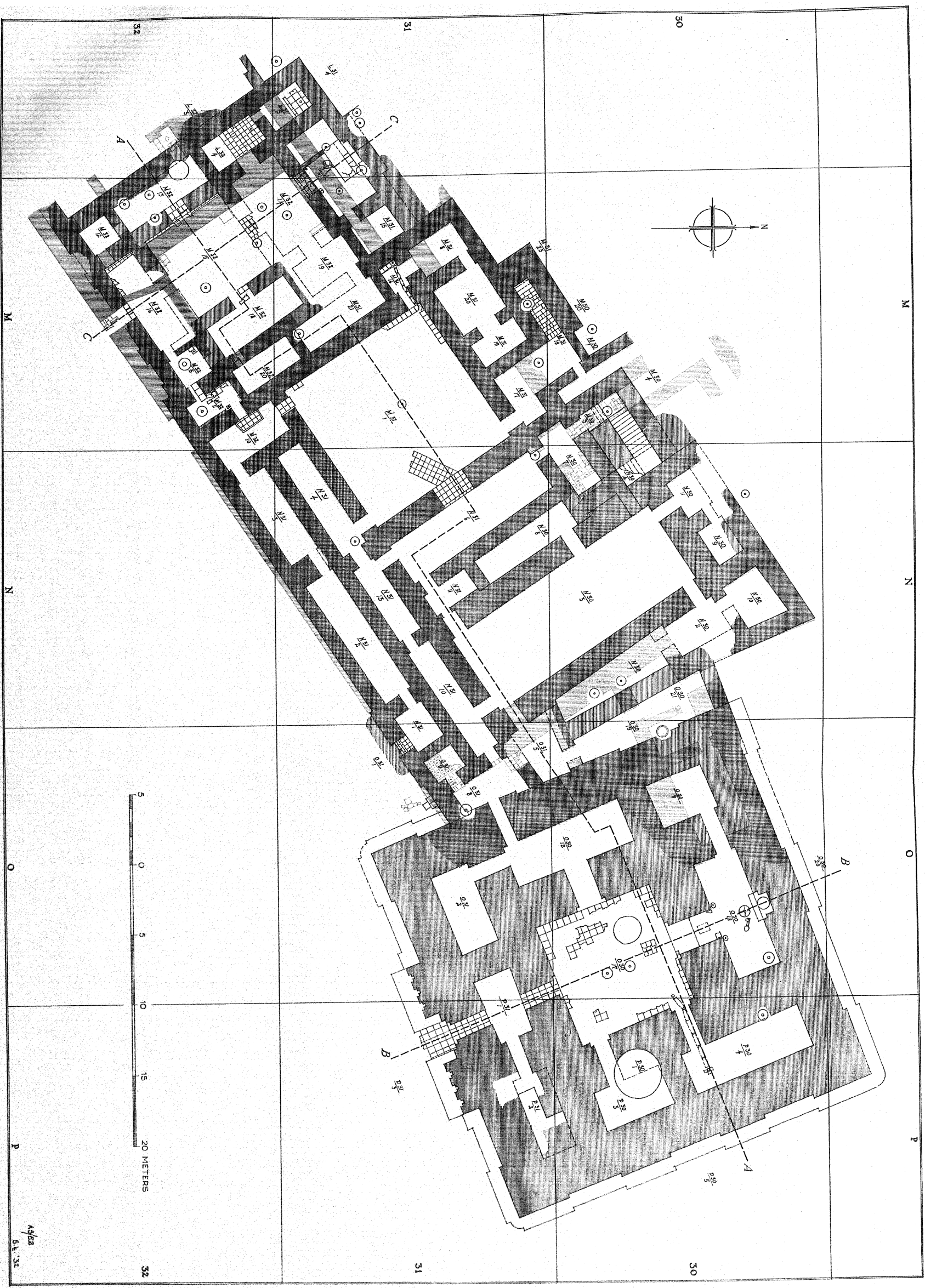
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PLATES

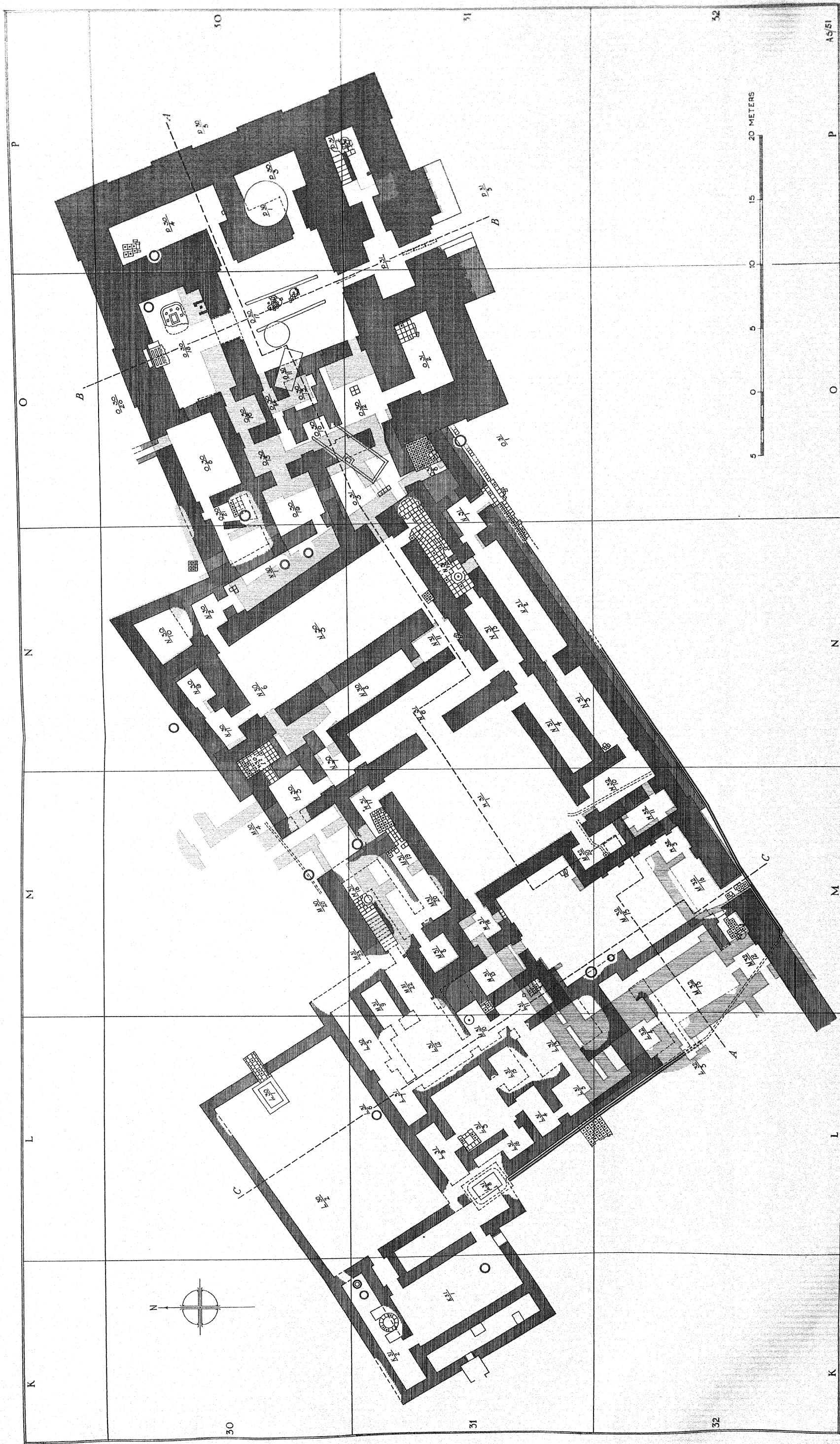




PROJECTED PLAN OF THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS IN THE REIGN OF IUSHULIA. SCALE, 1:400

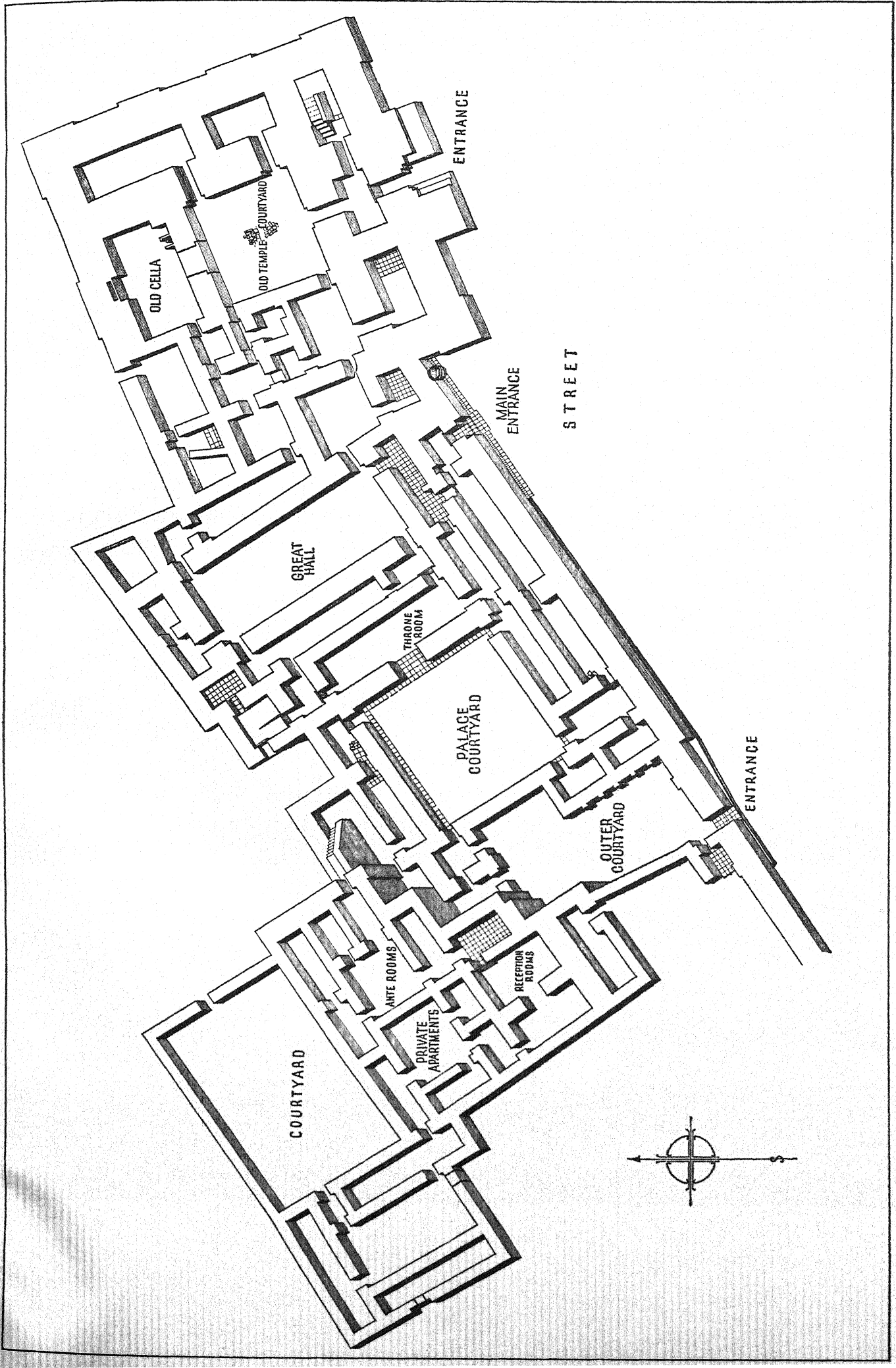


THE GIMISIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS. PLAN IN BLACK HATCHING SHOWS THE BUILDINGS IN THE REIGN OF ILUSHUTUA; PLAN IN RED HATCHING, THE RECONSTRUCTION BY NURAHUM. SCALE, 1:300
The area north of this complex had not been excavated at the time the plan was drawn; remains to the west had been lost by denudation



THE FORMER GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS. PLAN IN RED HATCHING SHOWS THE BUILDINGS AS THEY WERE LEFT BY NURAHUM; PLAN IN BLACK HATCHING, THE RECONSTRUCTION BY BILALAMA, WITH SOME WALLS OF A POST-BILALAMA BUILDING. SCALE, 1:300

The area north of this complex had not been excavated at the time the plan was drawn; possible remains west of the complex, in K 31-L 32, had been lost by denudation

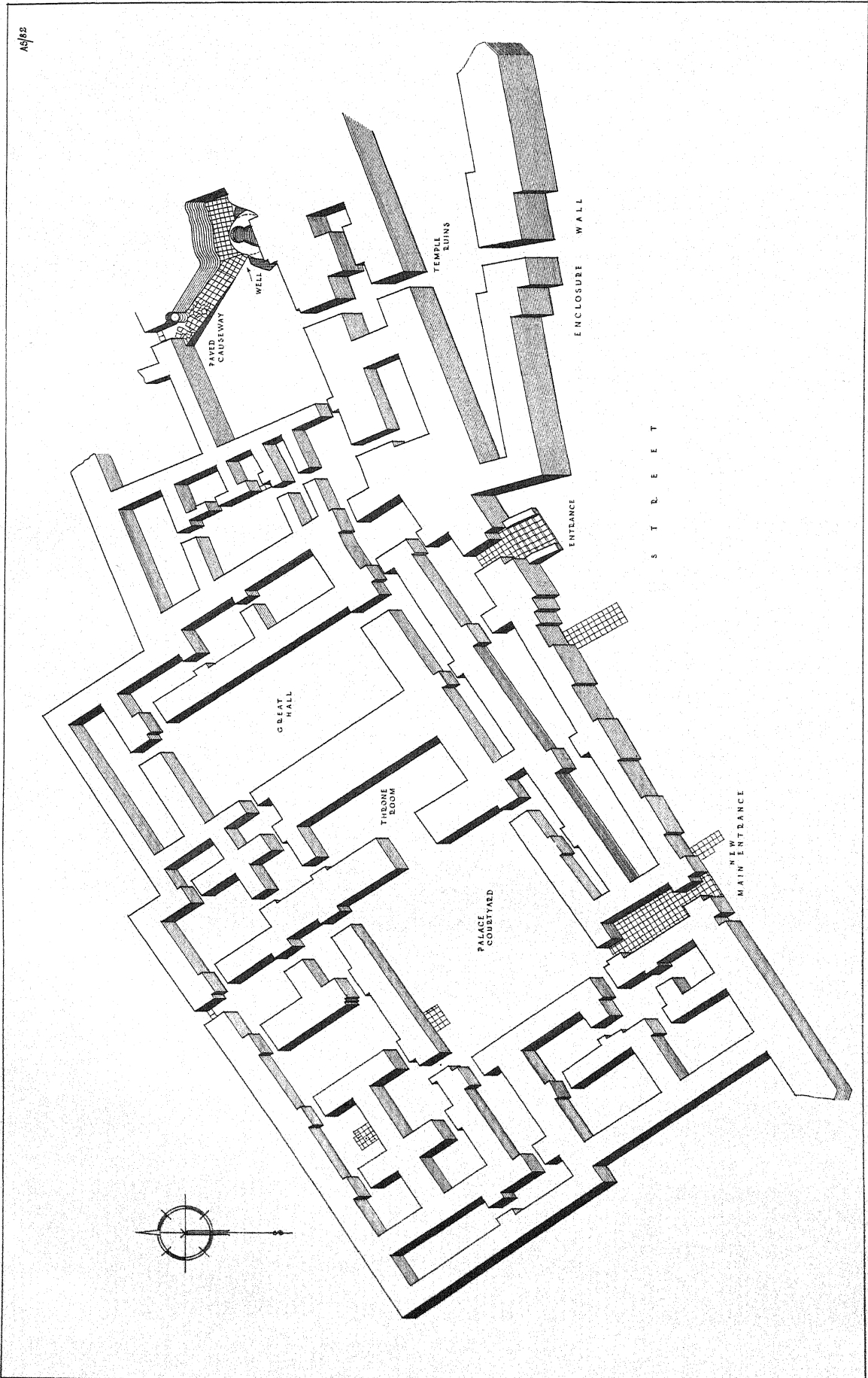


PROJECTED PLAN OF THE FORMER GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS IN THE REIGNS OF BILALAMA AND ISHARRAMASHU. SCALE, 1:400

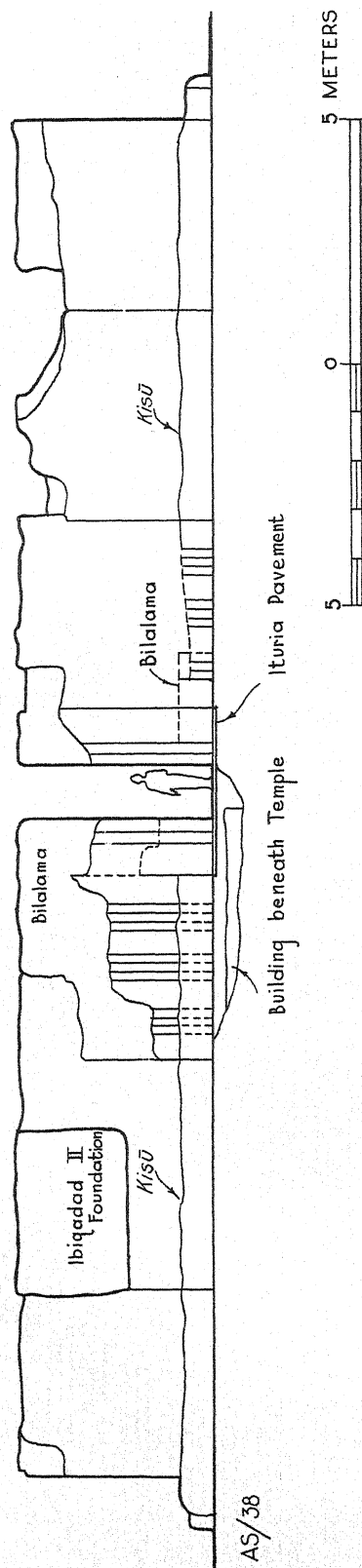


THE PALACE OF THE RULERS. PLAN IN BLACK HATCHING SHOWS THE BUILDINGS AS THEY WERE IN THE REIGNS OF UŞURAWASTU, AZUZUM, URNINKAR, AND URNINGISHZIDA; PLAN IN RED HATCHING SHOWS CONSTRUCTIONS DATING FROM THE REIGN OF İBİQADAD I TO AND INCLUDING THAT OF İBALPIEL I. SCALE, 1:300

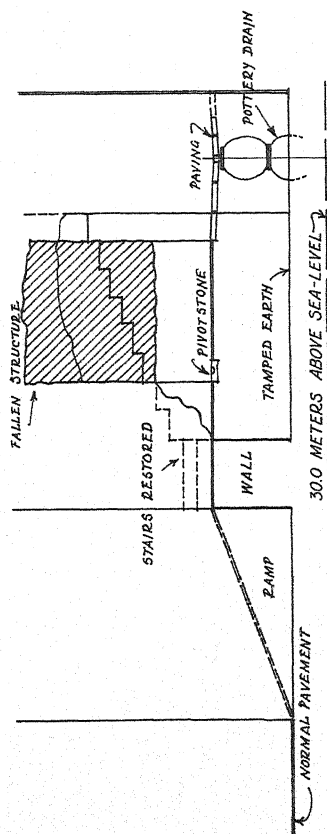
The area north of this complex had not been excavated at the time the plan was drawn. Results of later excavations appear on Plate XII and will be described in a later volume. Walls within the inclosure wall in P 30-31 were untraceable owing to a uniform, solid filling for some later foundation



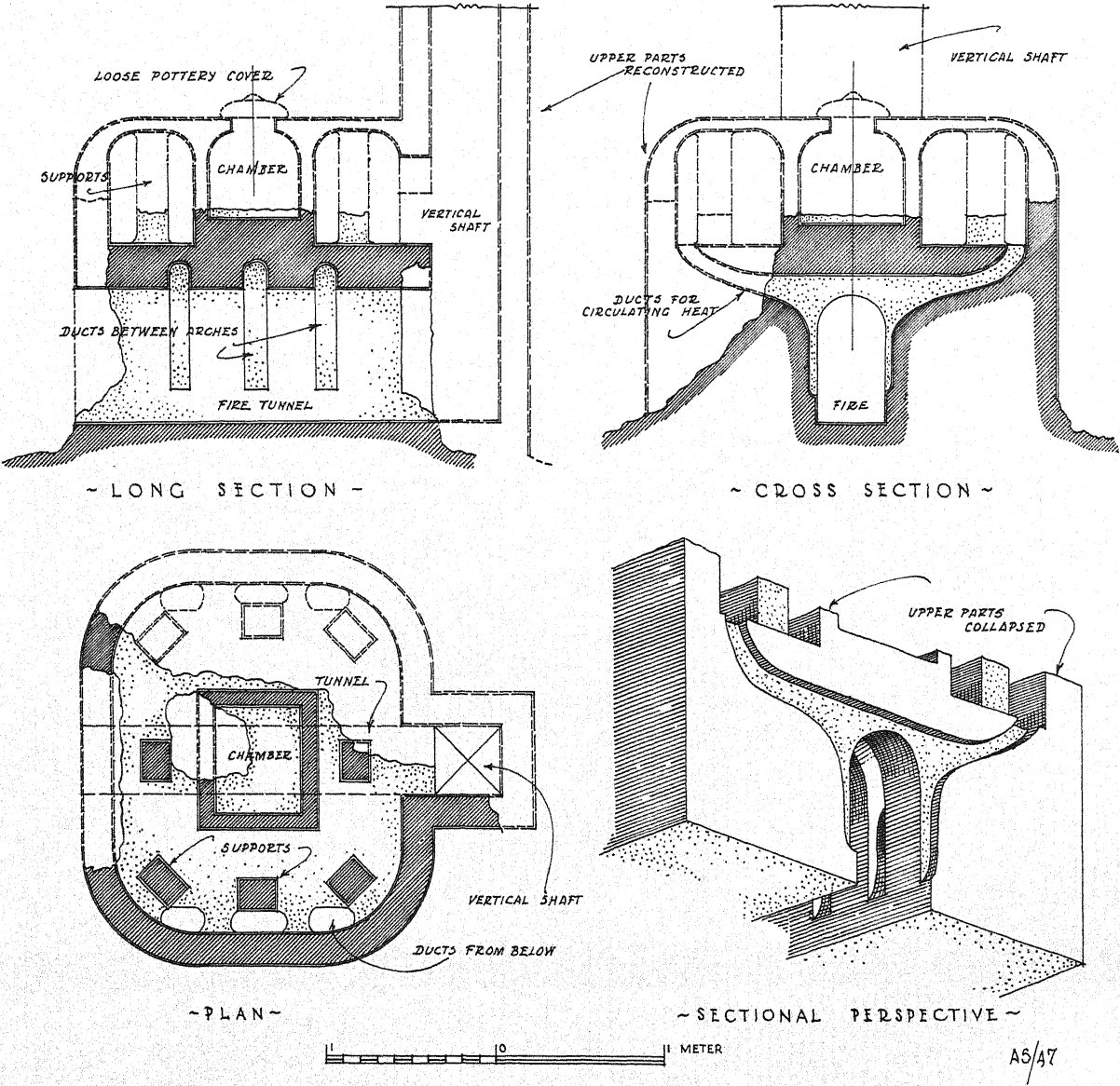
PROJECTED PLAN OF THE PALACE OF THE RULERS IN THE REIGN OF IBALPIEL I. SCALE, 1:400



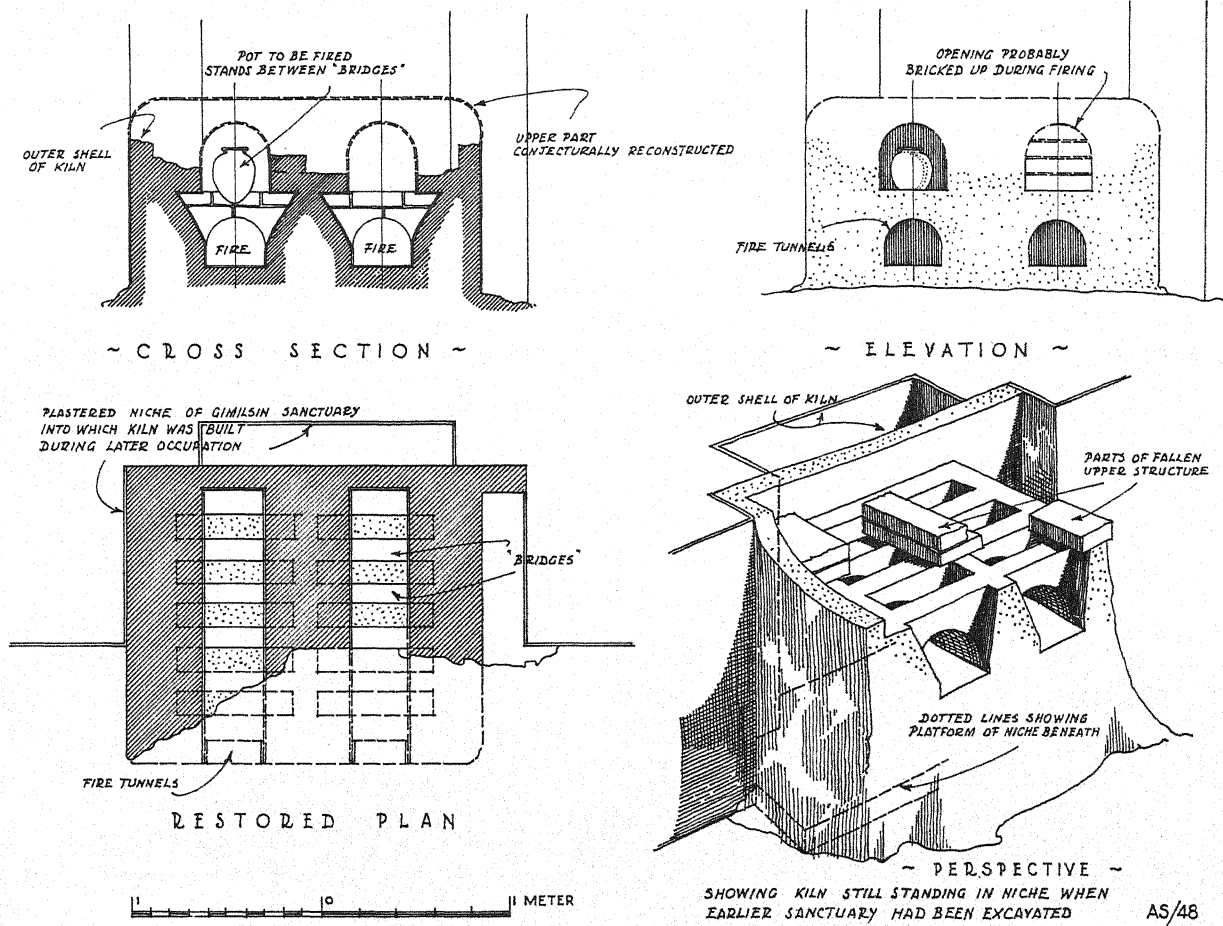
A. FRONT ELEVATION OF GIMILSIN TEMPLE AS EXISTING AT COMPLETION OF EXCAVATION. SCALE, 1:150



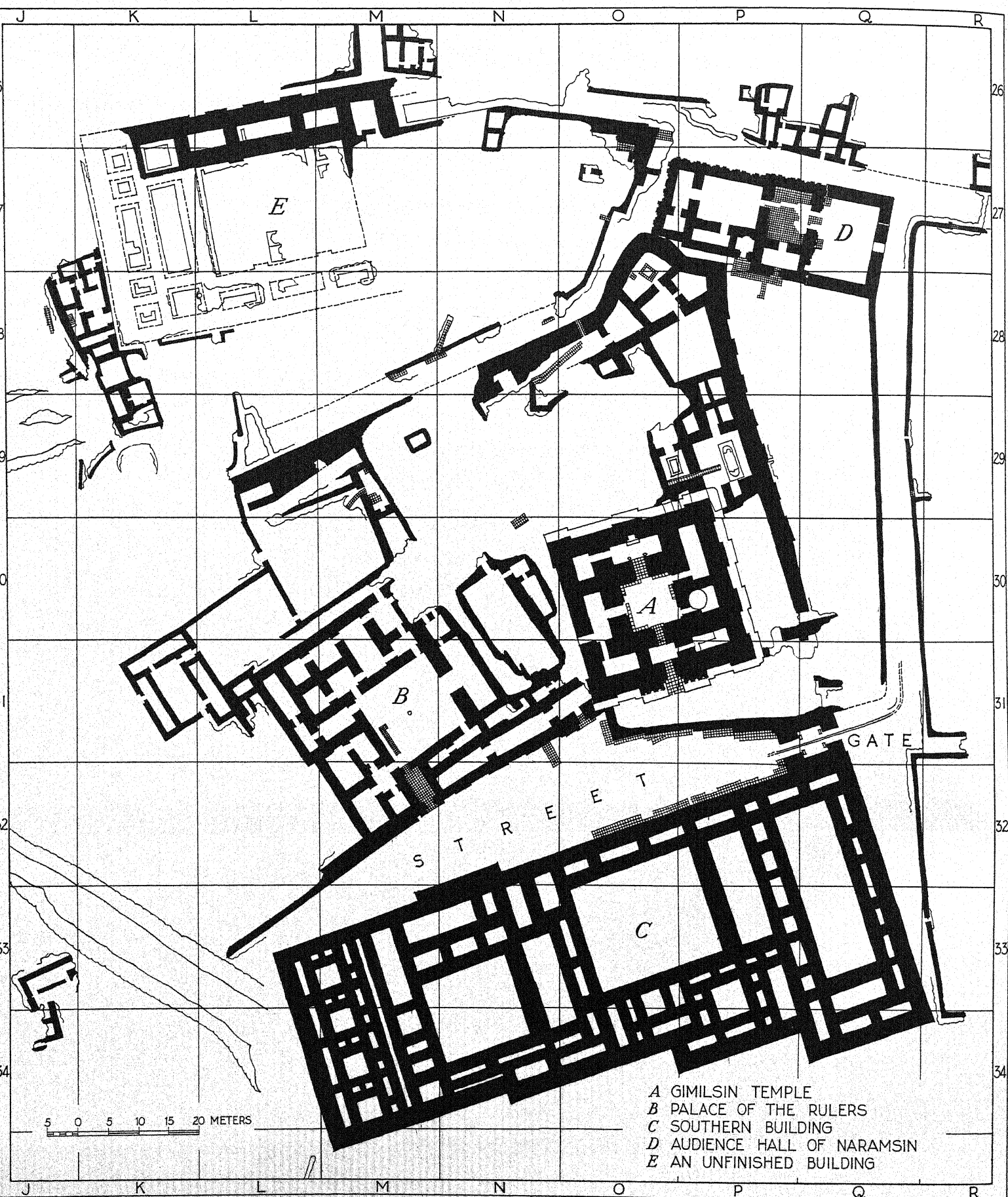
B. SECTION AND PLAN OF P 31:2 IN TIME OF ILUSHULIA AND BILALAMA. SCALE, 1:100



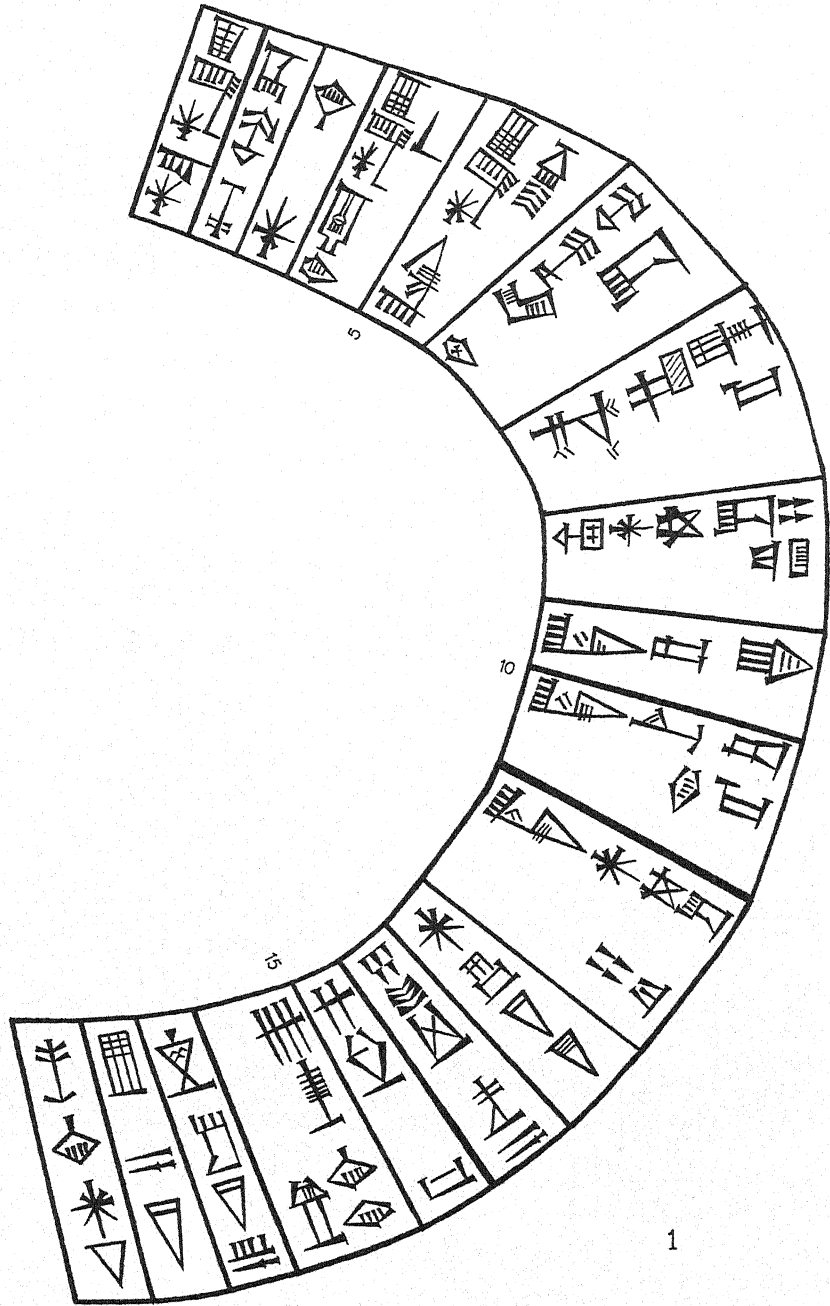
SECTIONS AND PLAN OF LARGER KILN IN O 30:18, BILALAMA LEVEL. SCALE, 1:20



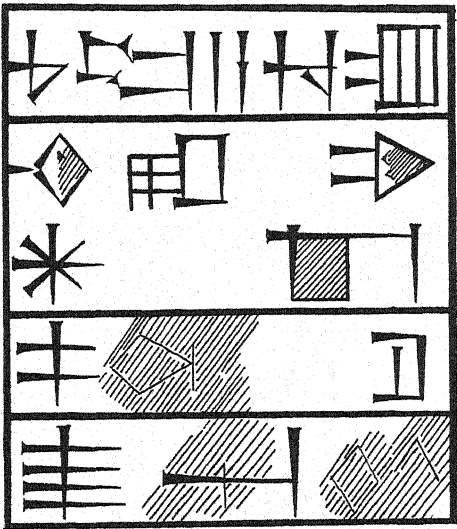
SECTION, ELEVATION, AND PLAN OF SMALLER KILN IN O 30:18, BILALAMA LEVEL. SCALE, 1:20



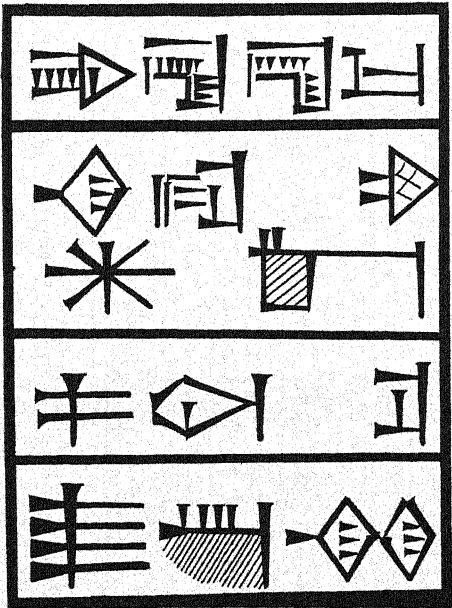
COMPOSITE PLAN SHOWING RELATIVE POSITIONS OF BUILDINGS OF VARIOUS PERIODS IN THE AREA DISCUSSED IN THIS VOLUME. SCALE, 1:800



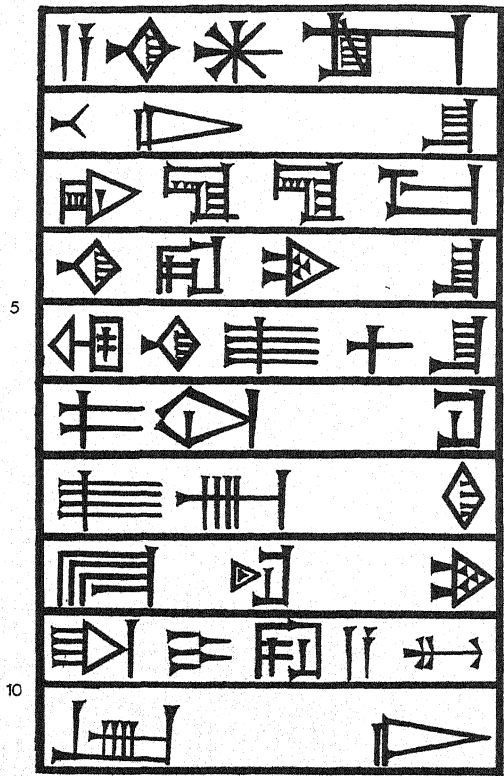
INSCRIPTION ON PIVOT STONE IN GIMILSIN TEMPLE. SCALE, 2:3



2



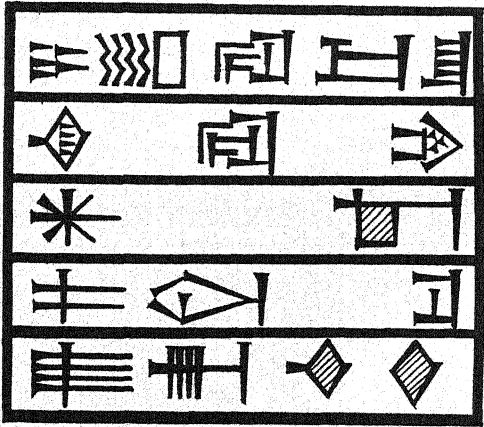
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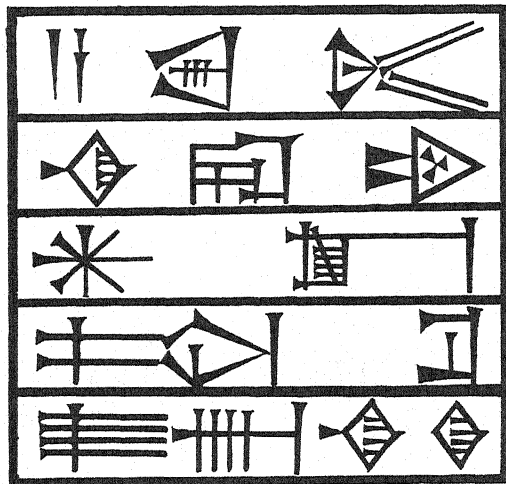
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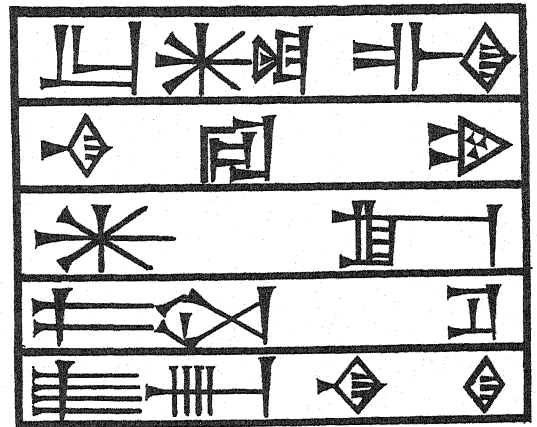
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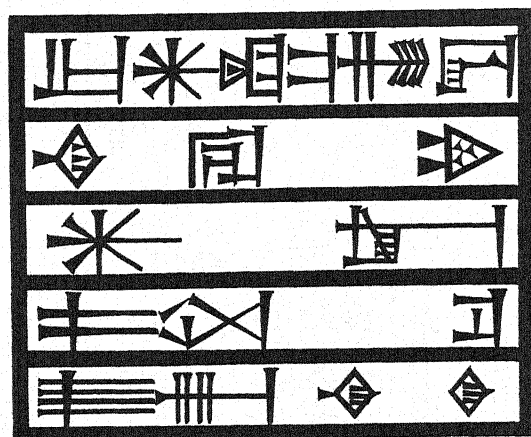
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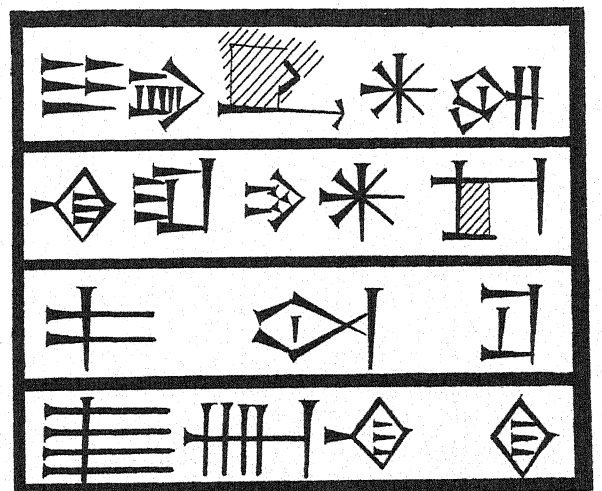
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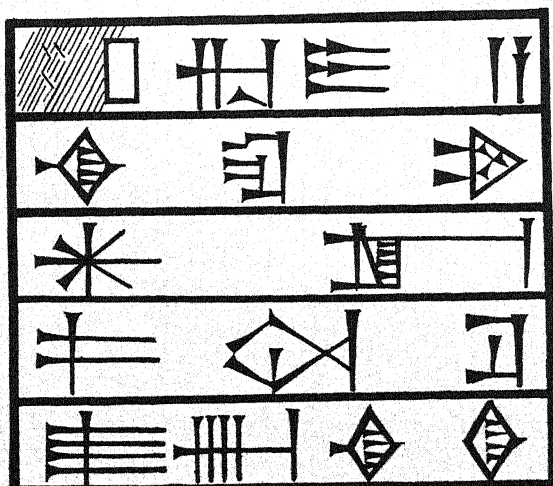
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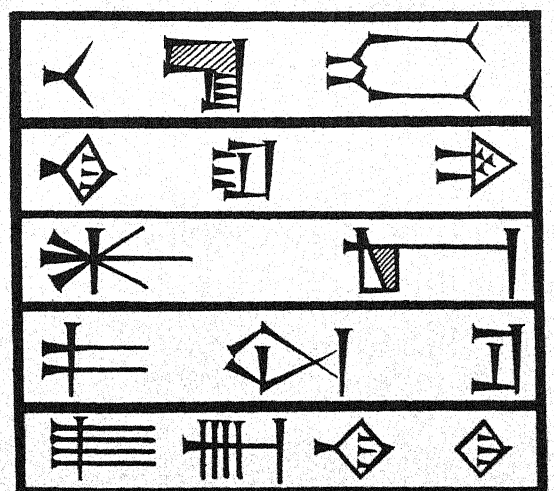
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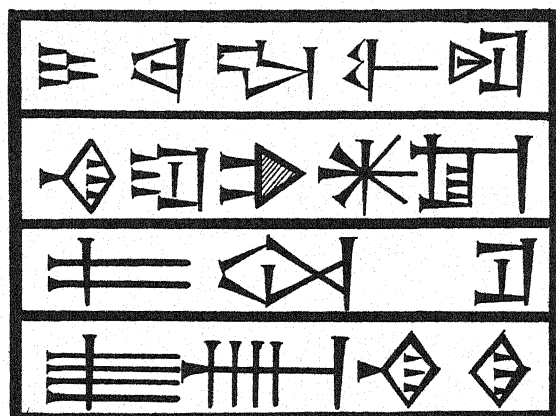
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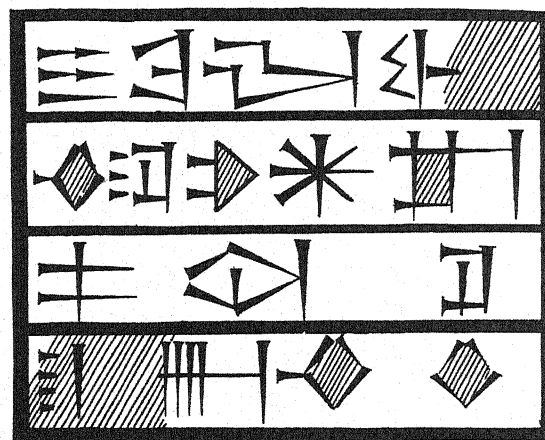
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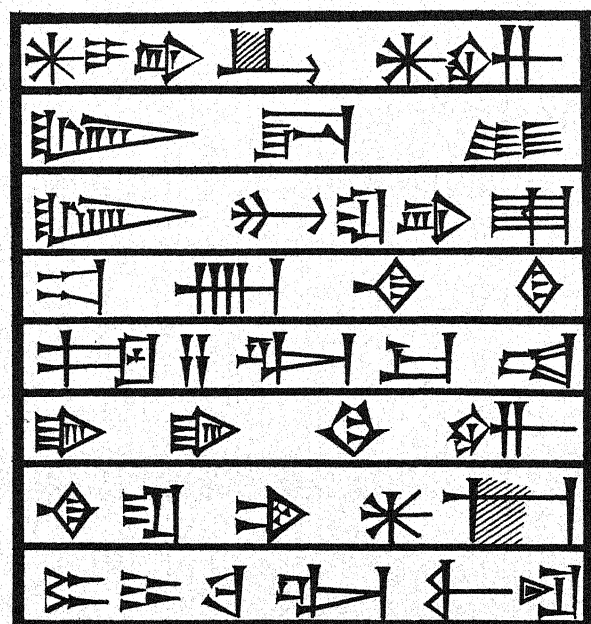
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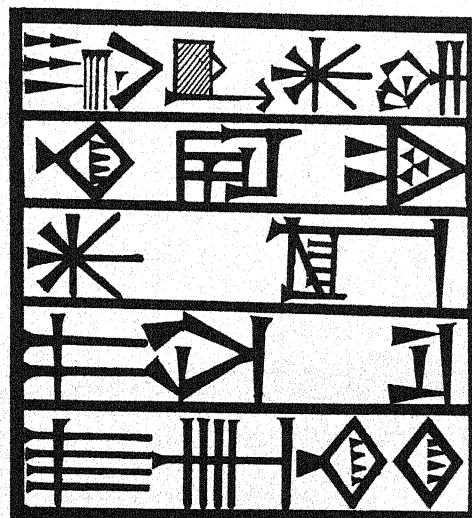
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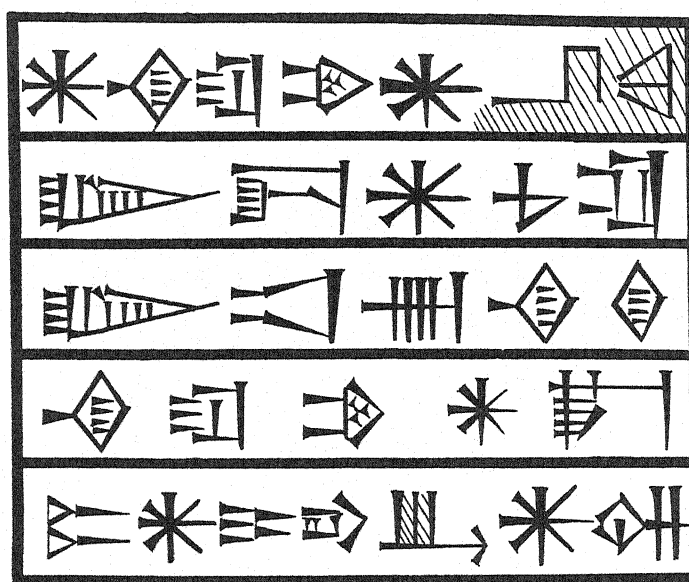
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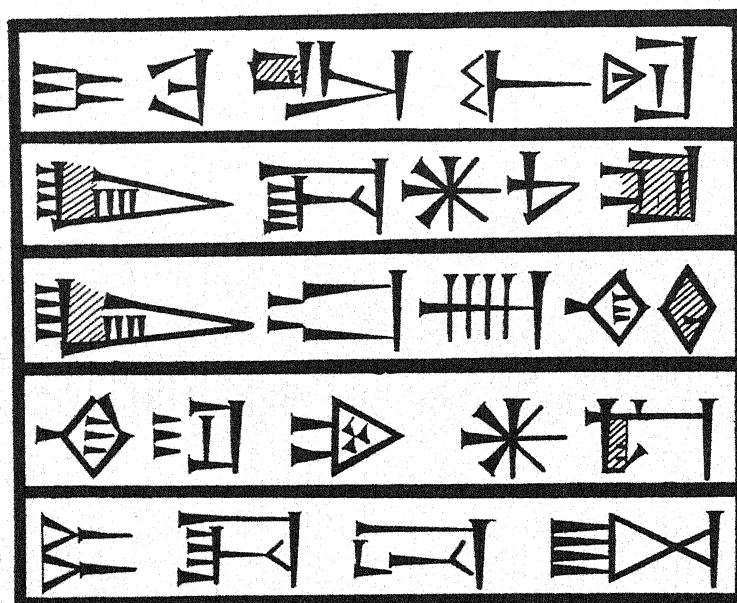
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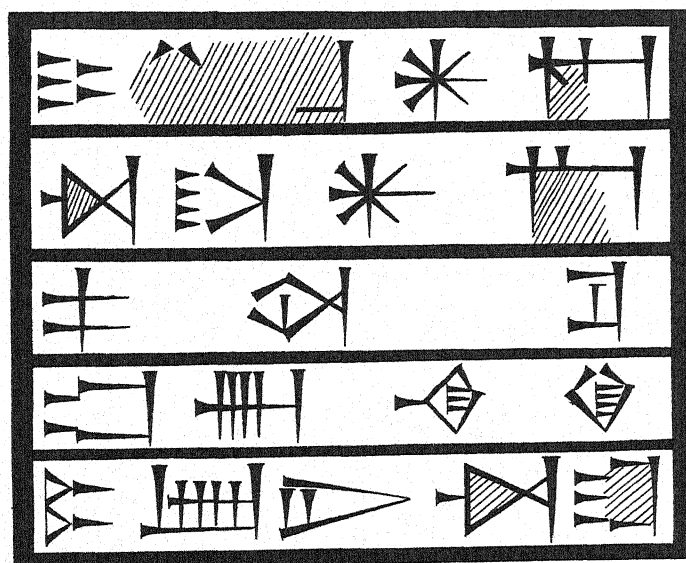
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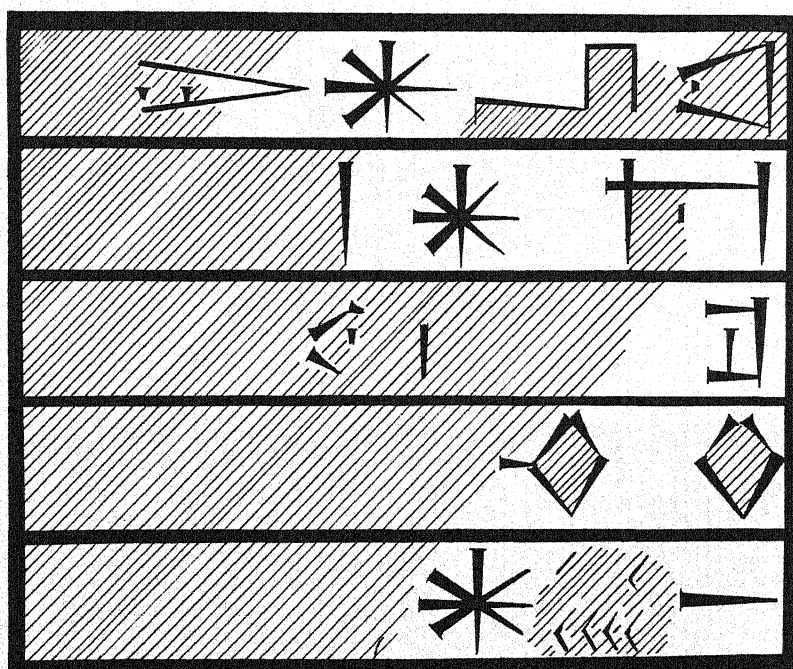
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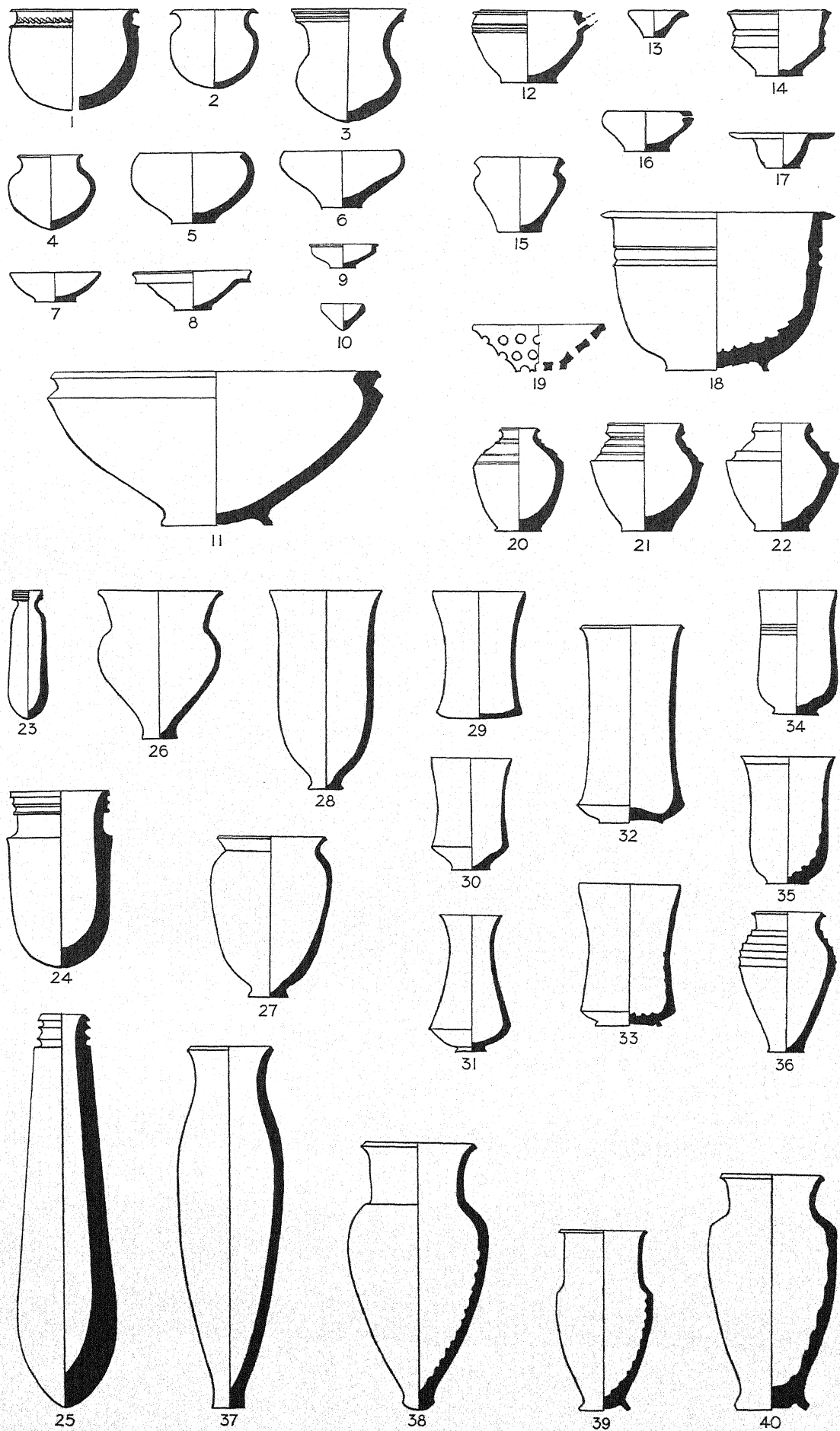
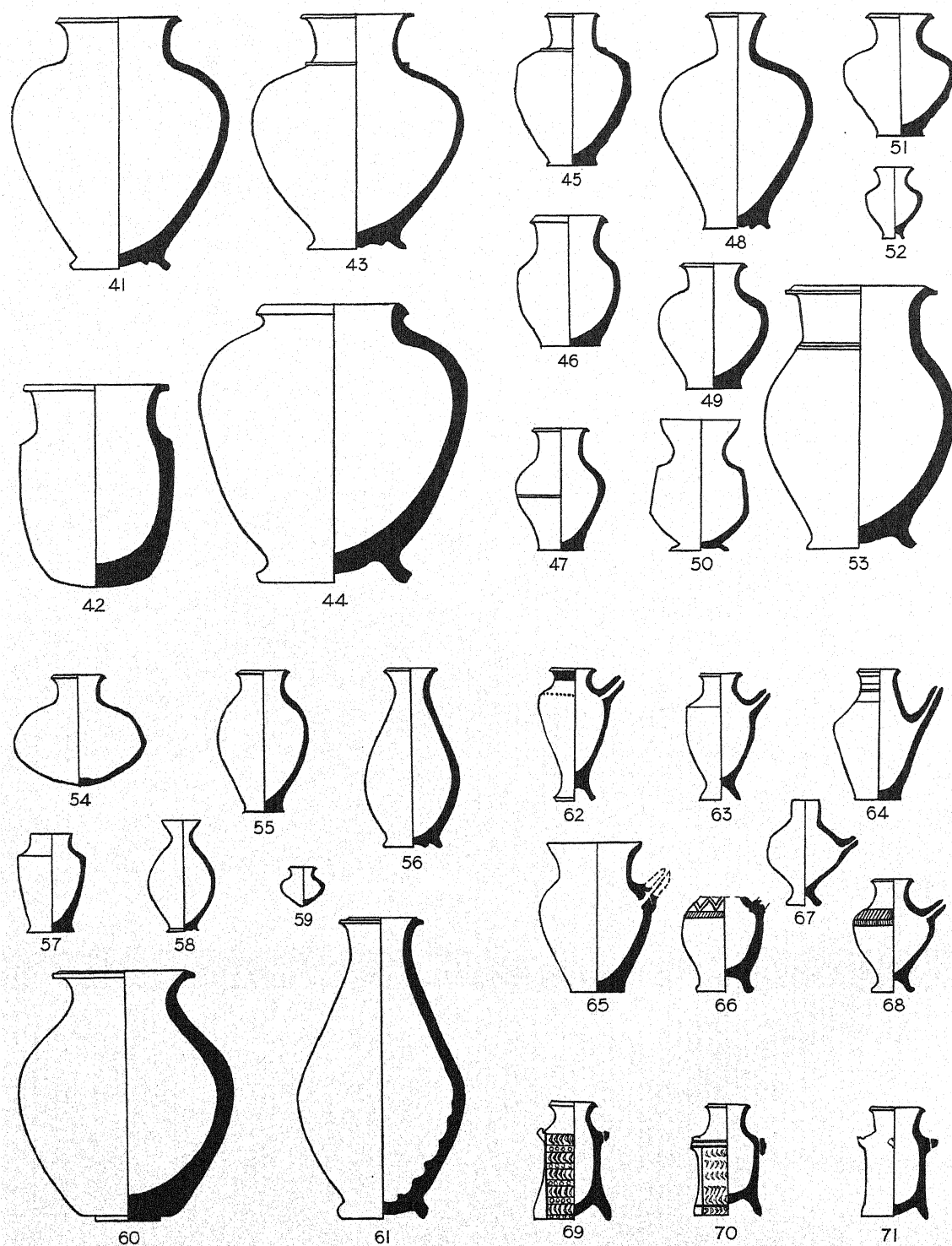
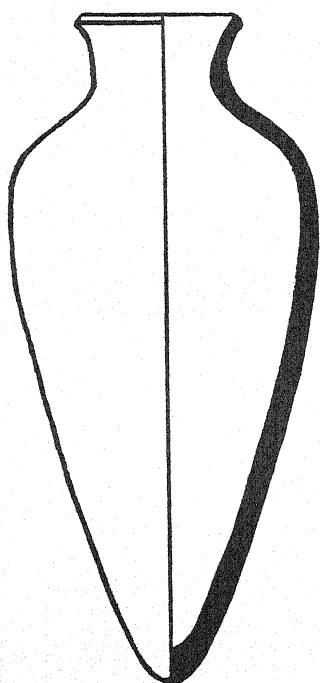


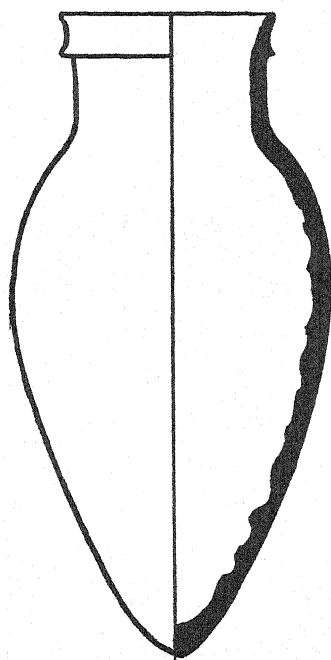
PLATE XX



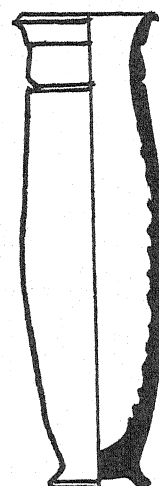
POTTERY FORMS. SCALE, 1:5



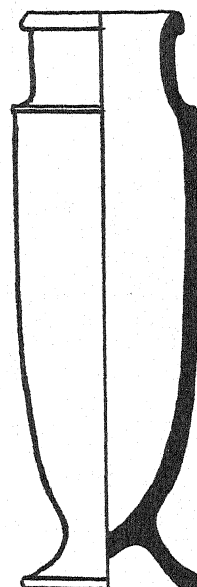
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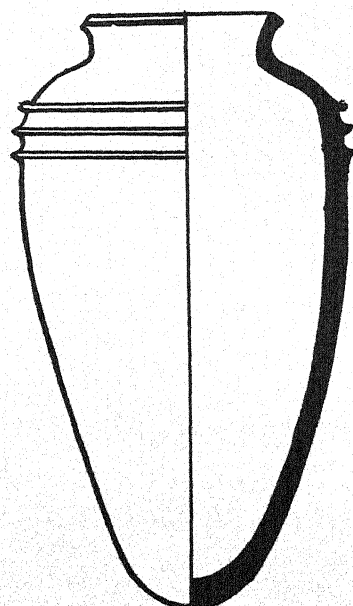
73



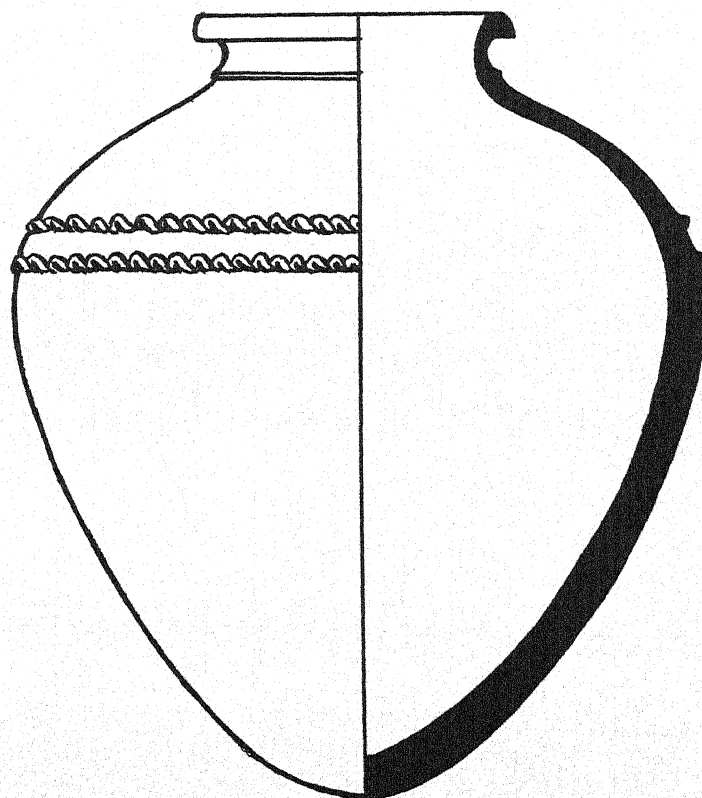
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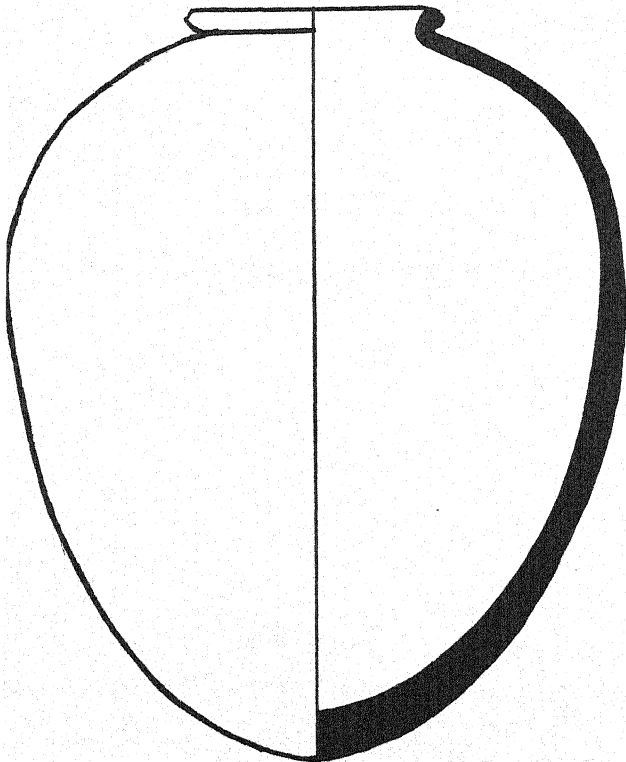
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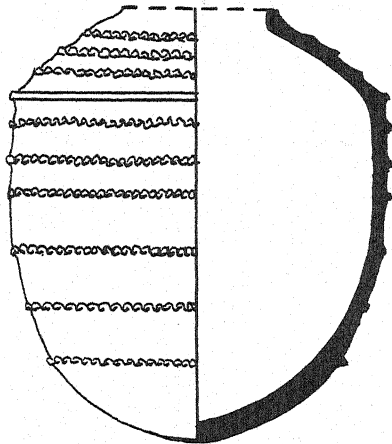
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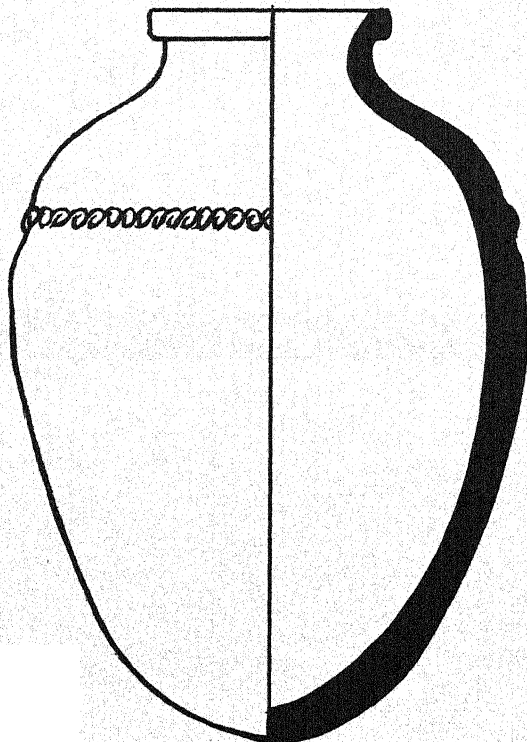
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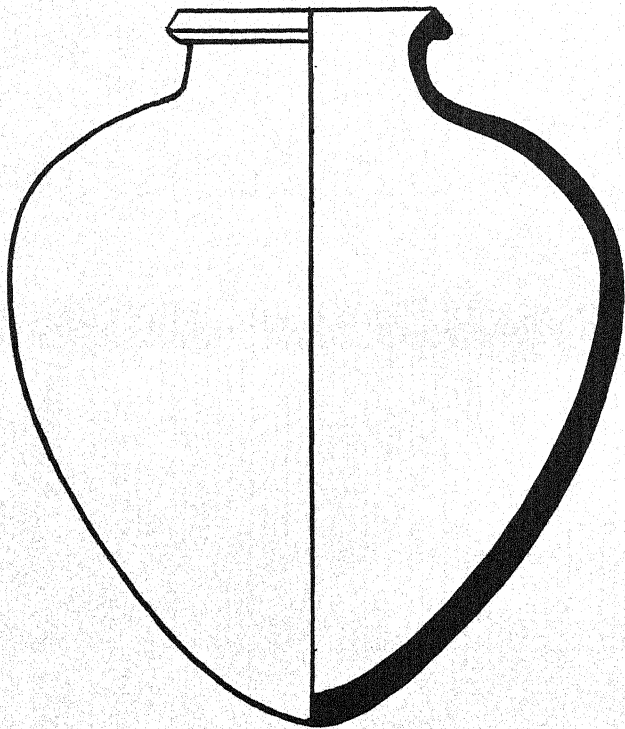
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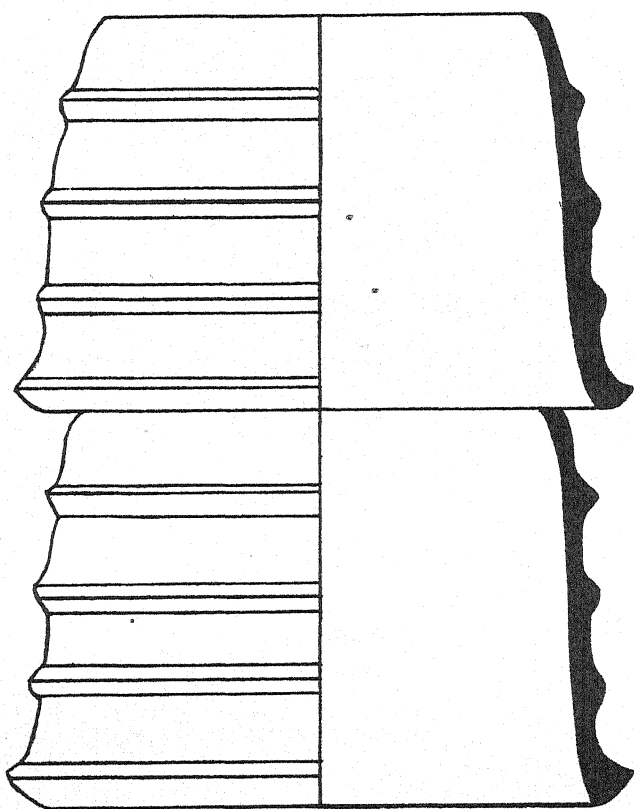
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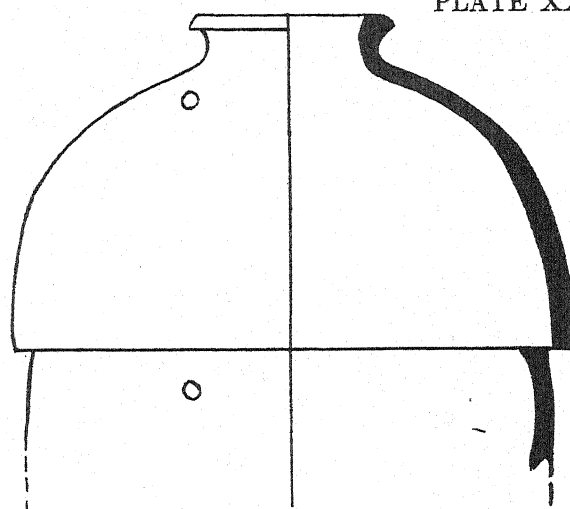
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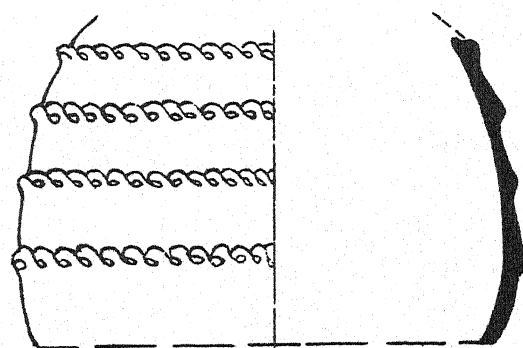
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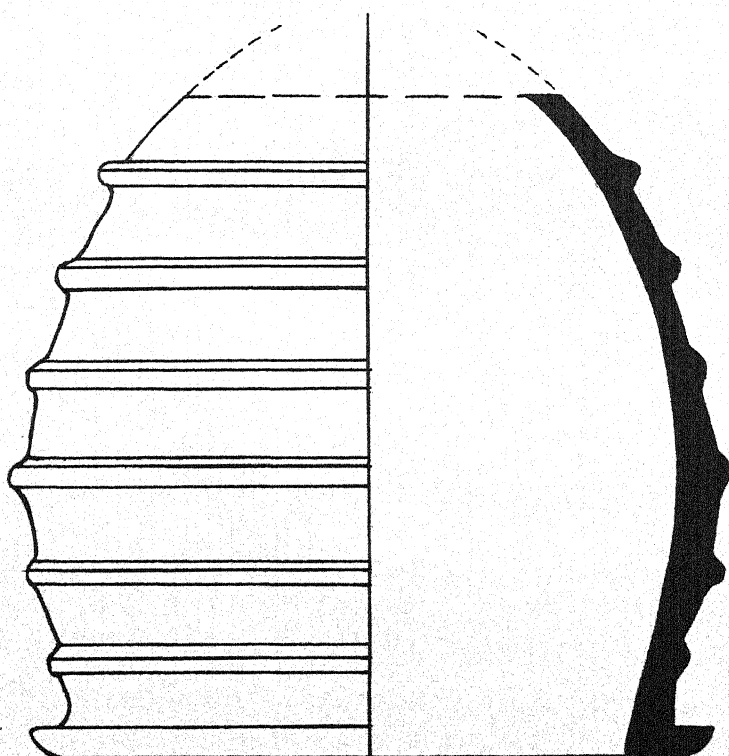
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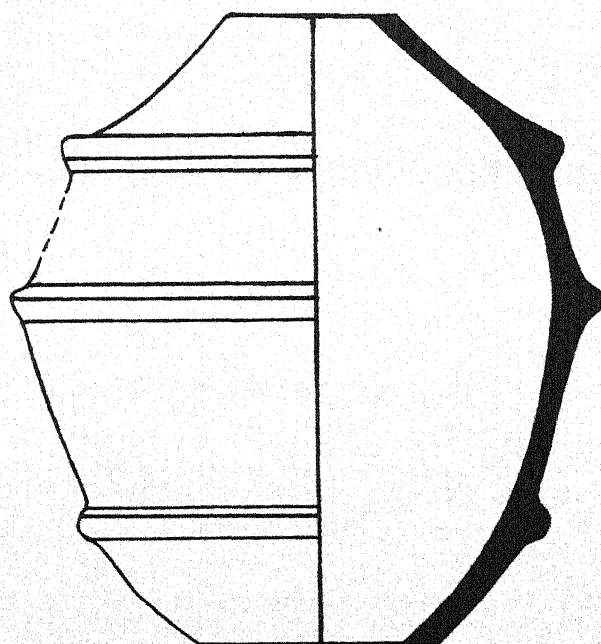
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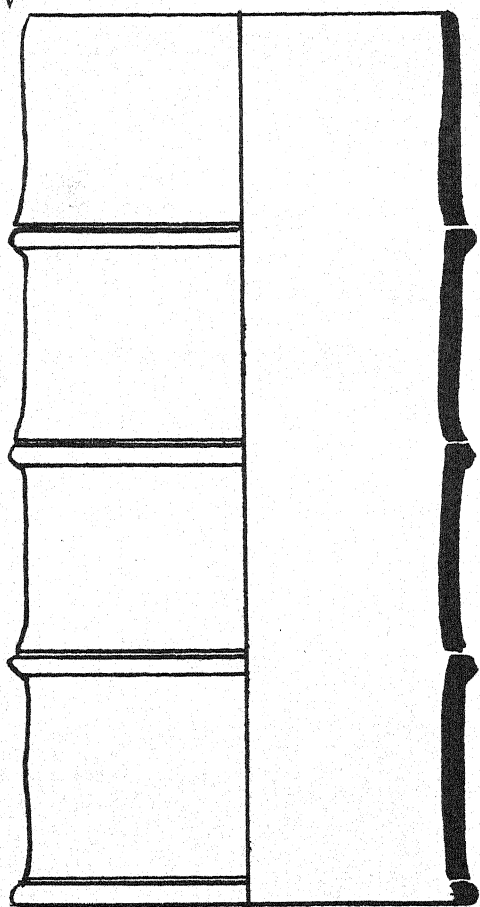


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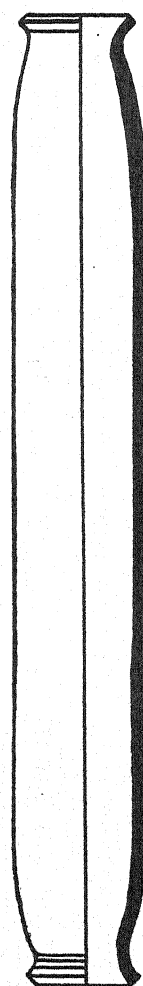


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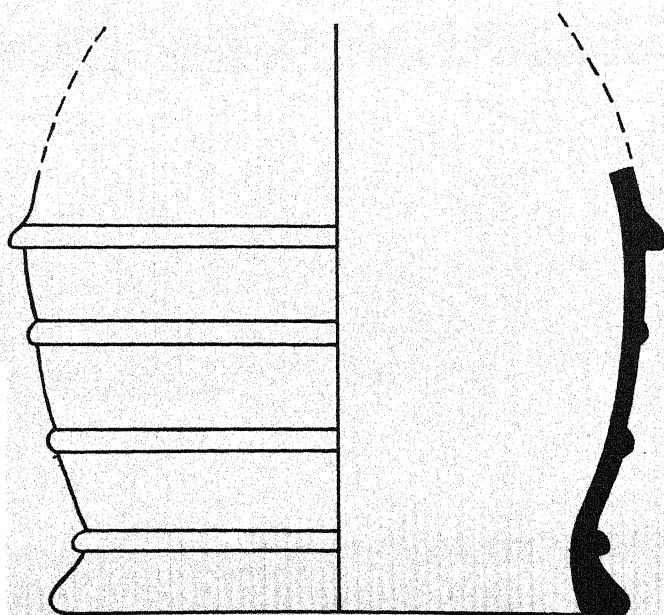
PLATE XXIV



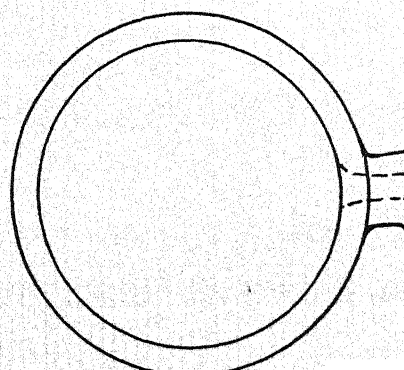
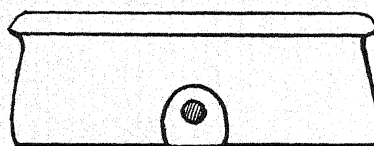
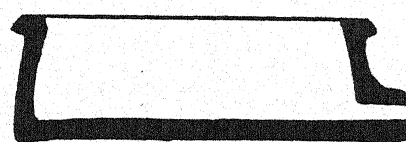
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